JUDGE RULES ON MUMIA MOTION (SEE PAGE 3)

COMMEMORATOR

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Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign Grows as School System Fails to Educate

CCBPP Photo

Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party volunteers kick off the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign at the West Oakland Library, in Oakland, CA on October 31st. Left to right: Vance Elliott, Jeff Krohn, Marlene Krohn, Bobby Coleman, Kia Hayes, and Billy Goree.

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party held the first tutoring session of the Li'l Bobby Hutton Memorial Literacy Campaign on October 31st at the West Oakland (California) Library, as students, teachers and parents joined together to combat Oakland's high illiteracy rate.

The all-volunteer campaign focuses on eradicating adult illiteracy in low-income communities. The literacy training with students is done one-on-one. Each volunteer tutor receives training from another certified tutor and then assists not only to teach literacy to interested community residents but also helps teach the skills of tutoring to others. The program has genesis in the Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party (BPP). A portion of the program for all participants will be history of the struggle for progressive change and biography of Li'l Bobby Hutton who taught himself to read despite the capitalist education system that failed to teach him. Point 5 of the BPP 10-Point program demands:

We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in present-day society. We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

The Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign volunteers do outreach to contact community residents who would be interested in learning. Literacy Program tutors and other CCBPP volunteers have begun canvasses in low-income communities to meet the potential students. CCBPP Volunteers Coordinator Vance Elliott has begun phone training sessions to reach the volunteer tutors, and CCBPP Board member Bobby Coleman, a former BPP member, is leading a letter writing campaign to garner supporters.

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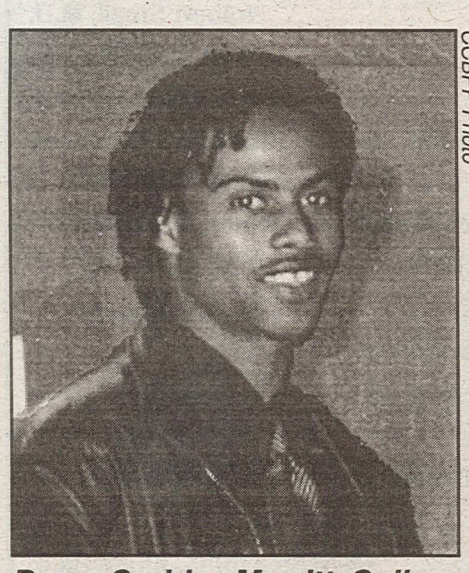
Merritt College Students Force Administration to Commemorate Black Panther Founders



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Doug Corbin, Merritt College student leader, organizes BPP legacy.

In April 2001, the student activists at Oakland, California's Merritt College Campus saw consummated their successful drive to commemorate the Black Panther Party (BPP) founders with the dedication of the Huey P. Newton/Bobby Seale Student Lounge. The BPP was founded in October 1966 while both Bobby and Huey were enrolled at Merritt College. At the time it was known as "City College" and was located on Grove Street (now Martin Luther King Way) in the heart of North Oakland's flatlands. The BPP organized many of its earliest actions in that neighborhood (see, *Seize the Time* by Bobby Seale and *Revolutionary Suicide* by Dr. Huey P. Newton).

Many of the early BPP members came from the student body at Merritt College. The BPP was providing the community and the student body with an education that they could never gain within the confines of academia. Basing education in what it meant to fight for power, the BPP was attracting a cadre of revolutionary party members and building a base of support in

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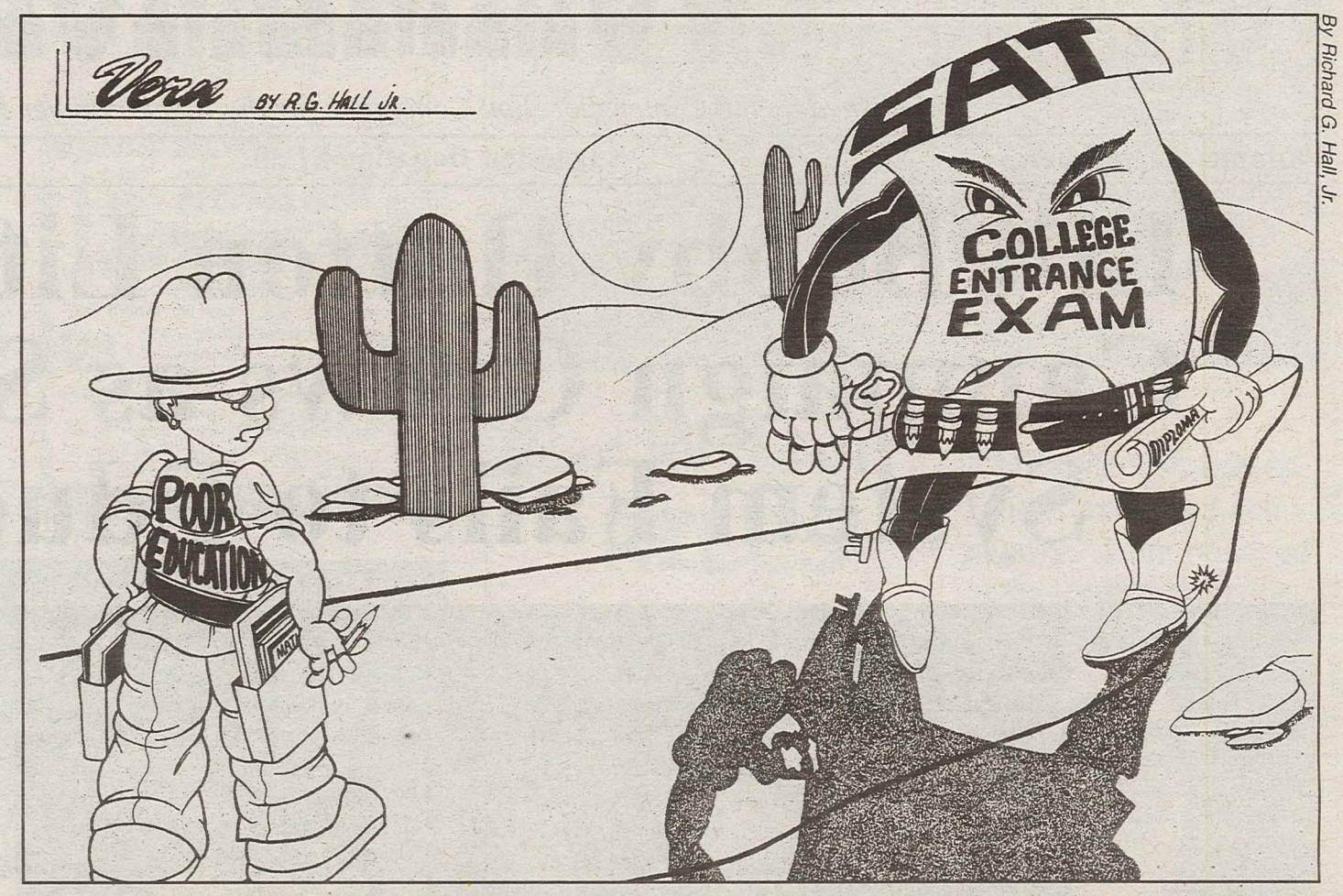
Societal Educational Apathy



By Richard G. Hall, Jr.

By R.G. Hall, Jr.

Throughout the so-called land of the free, stands the largest prison empire on the face of the earth. From sea to shining sea, locked away in multi-million dollar warehouses of stagnation and disenfranchisement exist almost two million predominantly poor people. And like a wretched ghost of chattel slavery, 50% of those incarcerated are black Americans. Their numbers increase each day to feed the correctional blob.

For the past few years, numerous schoolhouse shootings of tragic proportion have been used to prompt vindictive and frightened American voters into approving unempathetic, harsh new laws affecting America's youth. One such law is California's Proposition 21, which gives a green light to prosecutors to try to convict a 14-year-old child as an adult. Yet this same self-righteous society would never approve legislation that would permit an immature, impulsive 14-year-old child to be given adult privileges, such as the right to vote or obtain a driver's license. The blatant irony in this vigilante sanction of zero tolerance towards insight-limited youth is that the majority of the schoolhouse shootings that have occurred thus far have been carried out by well-to-do white youth from "good" homes, who attended "good" schools. Unfortunately, national statistics clearly illustrate the fact that white youth as well as adults account for a minor percentage of those incarcerated.

It is also no secret that black and Hispanic youth in particular will more than likely be affected by child-crucifying laws such as Proposition 21 in the greatest numbers. In Alameda County, California, a proposed $117 million dollar, 540-bed "Super Jail" for kids has stirred public outrage. It's about time! According to statistics, juvenile offender populations are on the decline, as are adult offender populations. Even though the state has failed to build new schools to diminish classroom overcrowding, the experts find it necessary to finance the construction of this proposed "Super Jail" to detain juveniles from Alameda and surrounding counties, as well as a new prison for a declining population of adult offenders in Kern County. Where is the logic and viable priority here?

The Russian writer Dostoevsky wrote in his classic work *Crime and Punishment*, "The degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons." Today, if such a grand tour were to be undertaken, a paramount and most disturbing root of the evil of criminality would be discovered. The general conclusion would be reached that the majority of those incarcerated within America's prisons are from the poorest communities, plagued with countless social ills. Shedding further light on a significant root of their socially unacceptable behaviorisms, they are poorly educated and lack viable job skills. Many were even homeless prior to being incarcerated.

In order for any human being to conduct themselves in a right and productive manner in a society, they must be sufficiently habilitated, educated and be afforded substantial social opportunities to develop. But to deny a naturally promising human being, from childhood on, these basic essentials to develop into a viable asset to themselves and community, is equivalent to systematically depriving them of the means to survive in a civilized and lawful manner. Criminals are not born. They are prompted. As it stands, in too many cases where people of color are concerned, a barred crib is nothing more than an introductory prelude to sitting in a barred cell at a later date.

If the "when in Rome, do as the Romans do" philosophy is true, American society should have the authentic morality and ethics to understand why so many youth emulate adult society's negative behavior patterns. Yet without any consciousness,

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"SERVING ALL OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES"

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Opinion-Editorial

Update: The Framing and Railroading of Mumia Abu-Jamal

UPDATE: *As we were about to go to press, Mumia Abu-Jamal's 1982 death sentence was overturned by federal judge William Yohn. His ruling gives the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the option to hold a new sentencing hearing within 180 days, or allow the sentence to be commuted to life imprisonment.*

Citing the 1982 death sentence as a "problem," Judge Yohn said that the jurors should have been permitted to consider mitigating circumstances (Mr. Jamal had not criminal record) against aggravating circumstances (the victim was a police officer). Yohn, however, refused to hold that Mr. Jamal was denied his constitutional rights at trial, nor did he order an evidentiary hearing where the confessed murderer Arnold Beverly's affidavit would be presented by Mr. Jamal's legal team.

"We want Mumia's unconditional release! We will not settle for less! Arnold Beverly has confessed!! Why is Mumia still on death row? What is this government trying to hide? This is not a victory! Don't be fooled! Life imprisonment is not what we demand. Release! Release! Release!" said the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Editor's note: *Mumia Abu-Jamal, political prisoner, award-winning journalist, and the former Minister of Information for the Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was railroaded and framed by the Philadelphia courts in 1982. Since then, he has been held captive on death row at various prisons in the state of Pennsylvania.*

During the mid-1970s Mr. Abu-Jamal worked as a local Philadelphia radio-station commentator and a taxi-cab driver. He focused his commentaries on the Philadelphia police's harassment and attacks against members of the MOVE organization and the low-income African American community.

Because of his criticisms of the brutality of the local police and oppressive government, Mr. Abu-Jamal was a constant target of the FBI's counter intelligence program. On the night of December 9, 1981, Mr. Abu-Jamal became a convenient fall guy through a corruption scam orchestrated by corrupted policemen and gangland mob members in the murder of officer Daniel Faulkner. On December 18, 2001 a federal judge denied Mumia a new trial, but ordered him resentenced in an effort to quiet those fighting for Mumia's freedom.

The following are an affidavit by Mr. Abu-Jamal, and a confession (affidavit) by Arnold Beverly. Beverly states that he shot officer Faulkner as a paid member of the mob on December 9, 1981, and not Mr. Abu-Jamal.

On July 19, 2001, Federal District Court Judge William H. Yohn Jr. denied Mr. Abu-Jamal's appeal, despite Beverly's confession that he murdered Faulkner, while carrying out a job for the Philadelphia mob. In rejecting the petition, Judge Yohn cited the Statute of Limitations in the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA), that was put in by the government, signed by President Bill Clinton, after the 1994 Oklahoma City bombing which claimed the lives of over 80 Americans.

Sam Jordan, former director of the Anti-Death Penalty Program of Amnesty International USA and a leading National Coordinator of the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, pointed out in a recent interview, "In a criminal case it is elementary that the attorneys should assert their client's innocence. But in Mumia's case, the submission of his claim of innocence was never made."

After Mr. Abu-Jamal's legal team filed a second petition against Federal Judge Yohn's negative decision to allow him to present his side of the story, he was summoned to appear on August 17, 2001 at Judge Pamela Dembe's Court of Common Pleas. But a few days before the hearing, after thousands of supporters from around the nation and the world began converging on the "City of Brotherly Love," Mr. Abu-Jamal, strangely enough, was denied to attend the hearing. The court simply convened the hearing without Mr. Abu-Jamal's presence! National black leaders and liberals, celebrities, such as Rev. Jessie Jackson, Ossie Davis, Dick Gregory, Ramsey Clark as well as representatives from several European

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The Confession of Arnold Beverly

Affidavit of Arnold Beverly

I, ARNOLD R. BEVERLY, state that the following facts are true and correct: I was present when police officer Daniel Faulkner was shot and killed in the early morning hours of December 9, 1981 near the corner of Locust and 13th Streets. I have personal knowledge that Mumia Abu-Jamal did not shoot police officer Faulkner.

I was hired, along with another guy, and paid to shoot and kill Faulkner. I had heard that Faulkner was a problem for the mob and corrupt policemen because he interfered with the graft and payoffs made to allow illegal activity including prostitution, gambling, drugs without prosecution in the center city area.

Faulkner was shot in the back before Jamal came on the scene. Jamal had nothing to do with the shooting.

Before the shooting, I was shown a picture of Faulkner and told that Faulkner was supposed to check something at Johnny O's (at 13th and Locust) sometime in the early morning hours of December 9.

Two of us were hired for the shooting so that either of us could take the opportunity to make the hit, get the job done, and leave. The other guy gave me a .38 caliber policeman's special and I was also carrying my own .22 caliber revolver.

I waited at the Speedline entrance at the north east corner of Locust and 13th at the parking lot. I was wearing a green (camouflage) army jacket. The other guy waited on the south side of Locust Street, east of 13th Street towards Camac Street.

While I was waiting at the Speedline entrance for Faulkner to arrive at the location, I saw police officers in the area. Two undercover policemen were standing on the west side of 13th, north of Locust. Also a uniformed police officer was sitting in a car in the corner of the parking lot; they were there while the shooting of Faulkner took place. I was not worried about the police being there since I believed that since I was hired by the mob to shoot and kill Faulkner, any police officers on the scene would be there to help me.

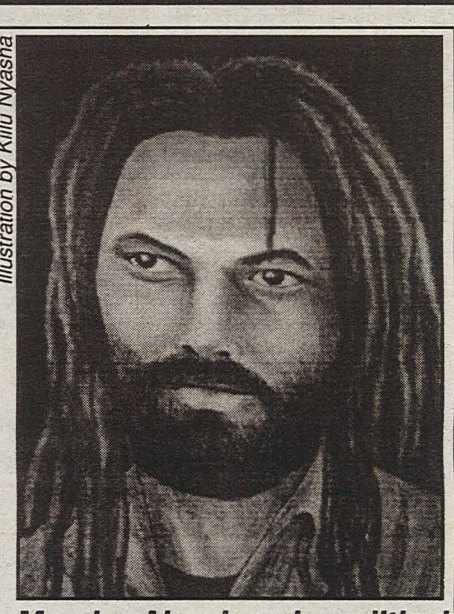

Illustration by Kiilu Nyasha

Mumia Abu-Jamal, political prisoner and award-winning journalist.

After a while I saw Faulkner get out of a small police car parked behind a VW parked on Locust Street, east of 13th. Faulkner was alone. He got out of the police car and went up to the VW.

I heard a shot ring out coming from east on Locust Street, Faulkner fell on his knee on the sidewalk next to the VW, I heard another shot and it must have grazed my left shoulder. I felt something hard on my left shoulder. I grabbed at my shoulder and got blood on my hand.

I ran across Locust Street and stood over Faulkner, who had fallen backwards on the sidewalk, I shot Faulkner in the face at close range. Jamal was shot shortly after that by a uniformed police officer that arrived on the scene.

Cop cars came from all directions. Foot patrol also arrived. I saw a white shirt getting out of a car in the middle of the 13th & Locust intersection just as I was going down to the Speedline steps.

I left the area underground through the Speedline system and by pre-arrangement met a police officer who assisted me, when I exited the Speedline underground about three blocks away. A car was waiting for me and I left the center city area.

The foregoing is stated subject to the penalties of 15 Pa.C.S. Section 4904 relating to unsworn falsification to authorities.

(signed)
Arnold E. Beverly 6-8-99

(See Mumia's Affidavit on page 5)

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In Memoriam

Warren "Captain" William Wells • November 13, 1946-June 28, 2001

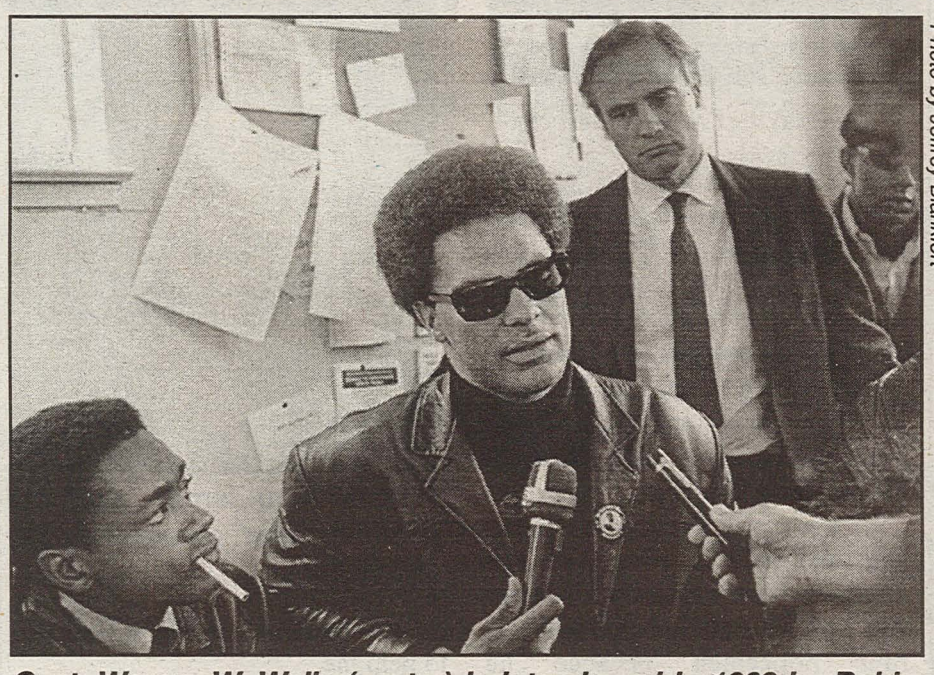

Photo by Jeffrey Blankfort

Capt. Warren W. Wells (center) is interviewed in 1968 by Bobby Seale, BPP co-founder, as Marlon Brando (background) looks on.

CCBPP Photo

Comrades, family and friends pay their respects as Warren W. Wells was laid to rest at his funeral held July 9th in San Francisco.

Warren William Wells, a founding member of the Black Panther Party from 1967 until the Party's dissolution in 1982, who rose to the rank of BPP Captain while organizing inside California state prisons, and who had been trapped and injured by police gunfire in the same incident in which Li'l Bobby Hutton was murdered, died on June 28, 2001, while still in the custody of the California Department of Corrections, following a "minor" surgery at University of California at San Francisco Medical Center. He was 53 years of age.

"Our beloved comrade-brother, Warren Wells, was laid to rest on July 9th, following a well-attended funeral at the Bay View Mortuary in San Francisco. The ceremony was loving and dignified, paying tribute to Warren's commitment to our fight for liberation and his fearless sacrifices and contributions to its advancement both outside and behind prison walls," stated Kiilu Nyasha, fellow former BPP member and friend who attended the memorial service along with friends, comrades and family members of the deceased.

Among the many who gave moving testimonials and read from Warren's letters were his sister Patricia Caracter, his widow Beverly Wells, his only child Warren Wells, Jr., his childhood friend and comrade Ida McCray, David Hilliard, Emory Douglas, Terry Cotton and Willie (Sundiata) Tate. Marguerite Wells, Warren's mother, sat stoically silent in her wheelchair as she listened to the accolades and eulogies honoring her only son. "Being the mother of a grown son myself, I can imagine how very hard it is to bury one's only manchild," added Nyasha. "I'm deeply saddened by this tragic, premature loss, and I'll miss Warren's loving letters, always laced with his wonderful sense of humor. Warren's revolutionary spirit will live on and continue to inspire us as our struggle for freedom continues. Long live the guerrilla!"

Wells was born in San Francisco's Alice Griffith housing projects, better known as "Double Rock," on November 13, 1946 to Marguerite Wells and Richard Wells. By the age of 16, he was already in trouble with the authorities due to the conditions of poverty, racism and classism that maim and kill so many of our young brothers and sisters.

His first struggle in a predominately Black community was to overcome the stigma attached to his green eyes and light skin. Nicknamed "Dub," Warren got his first taste of prison in 1963 when, at the age of 16, he was sentenced as an adult to Soledad State Prison. It was there that he met brothers George Jackson, Eldridge Cleaver, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter, Hugo "Yogi" Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, James McClain and others.

"The San Quentin strike led by Black Panther Party organizers Warren Wells, George Jackson and Kamusi was not only the longest but the most successful prison strike in U.S. history. The over 400 Black, Hispanic and White inmates included members of the so-called Aryan Brotherhood who broke ranks with their organization."

Warren was introduced to the Black Panther Party by Eldridge Cleaver. Warren chose the life of a Black Panther Party member at the age of 21. When he got out of prison, Warren became Sergeant-at-Arms, or "Captain" Wells and was nicknamed by his friends and fellow BPP members, "The San Francisco Kid." Dedicated and fearless, Warren was a powerful functionary of the Party throughout California's San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area as well as inside state prison.

"Warren loved his people, his fellow prisoners. He hated injustice, racism, and this rotten system and knew exactly where to direct his rage. Needless to say, this level of rebellious consciousness made him a threat and a target," stated Kiilu Nyasha. "While in San Quentin, at age 22, Warren planted the seeds of struggle and the principles he had learned from the Party, raising political awareness and organizing solidarity among his fellow prisoners."

In the 1970s, Warren took a leading role in developing *The Folsom Manifesto*, which listed prisoner grievances, demands for major changes in prison conditions, sentencing laws, labor rights and an end to the death penalty in view of the fact that the majority of persons executed are from low-income communities. On August 24-25, 1970, Warren, along with other prison activists, confronted the San Quentin administration after organizing some 400 Black, Chicano and White prisoners who stood together in solidarity behind the *Manifesto*. These events led to the longest prison strike in California history and helped provide impetus to the uprising at Attica State Prison in New York, where prisoners also sought major changes in prison conditions and which was suppressed by murder and mayhem by New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

The San Quentin strike led by Black Panther Party organizers Warren Wells, George Jackson and Kamusi was not only the longest but the most successful prison strike in U.S. history. The over 400 Black, Hispanic and White inmates included members of the so-called Aryan Brotherhood who broke ranks with their organization. With the support

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Mumia's Affidavit

I, Mumia Abu-Jamal
1. I am the Petitioner in this action. If called as a witness I could and would testify to the following from my own personal knowledge.
2. I did not shoot Police Officer Daniel Faulkner. I had nothing to do with the killing of Officer Faulkner. I am innocent.
3. At my trial, I was denied the right to defend myself. I had no confidence in my court-appointed attorney, who never even asked me what happened the night I was shot and the police officer was killed, and I was excluded from at least half the trial.
4. Since I was denied all my rights at my trial I did not testify. I would not be used to make it look like I had a fair trial.
5. I did not testify in the post-conviction proceedings in 1995 on the advice of my attorney Leonard Weinglass, who specifically told me not to testify.
6. Now for the first time I have been given an opportunity to tell what happened to me in the early morning hours of December 9, 1981; this is what happened.
7. As a cabbie, I often chose 13th and Locust Street because it was a popular club area with a lot of foot traffic.
8. I worked out of United Cab on the night of 12/9/81.
9. I believe I had recently returned from dropping off a fare in West Philly.
10. I was filling out my log when I heard some shouting.
11. I glanced in my rear view mirror and saw a flashing light of a police cruiser. This wasn't unusual.
12. I continued to fill out my log/trip sheet when I heard what sounded like gunshots.
13. I looked again into my rearview mirror and saw people running up and down Locust.
14. As I scanned, I recognized my brother standing in the street staggering and dizzy.
15. I immediately exited the cab and ran to his scream.
16. As I came across the street, I saw a uniformed cop turn toward me gun in hand; saw a flash and went down to my knees.
17. I closed my eyes and sat still trying to breath.
18. The next thing that I remember I felt myself being kicked, hit and being brought out of a stupor.
19. When I opened my eyes, I saw cops all around me.
20. They were hollering and cursing, grabbing and pulling on me. I felt faint finding it hard to talk.
21. As I looked through this cop crowd all around me, I saw my brother, blood running down his neck and a cop lying on his back on the pavement.
22. I was pulled to my feet and then rammed into a telephone pole, beaten where I fell and thrown into a paddy wagon.
23. I think I slept until I heard the door open and a white cop came in cursing and hit me in the forehead.
24. I don't remember what he said except a lot of "niggers," "black motherfuckers" and what not.
25. I believe he left and I slept. I don't remember the wagon moving for a while and when it did, for sometime.
26. I awoke to hear the driver speaking over the radio about his prisoner.
27. I was informed by the anonymous crackle on the radio that I was en route to the police.
28. Then, it sounded like "I.D.'d as M-I" came on the radio telling the driver to go to Jefferson Hospital.
29. Upon arrival I was thrown from the wagon to the ground and beaten.
30. I was beaten again at the doors of Jefferson.
31. Because of the blood in my lungs it was difficult to speak and impossible to holler.
32. I never confessed to anything, because I had nothing to confess to.
33. I never said I shot the policeman. I did not shoot the policeman.
34. I never said I hope he died. I would never say something like that.

I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States that the above is true and correct and was executed by me on the 3rd of May 2001 at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania.

Mumia Update

Continued from page 3

countries attended the hearing. According to the Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal, *the outcome was that Judge "Dembe strongly leaned towards the prosecution's argument that certain time limits for presenting evidence have expired and therefore the court doesn't have to reopen the Post Conviction Relief Appeal."*

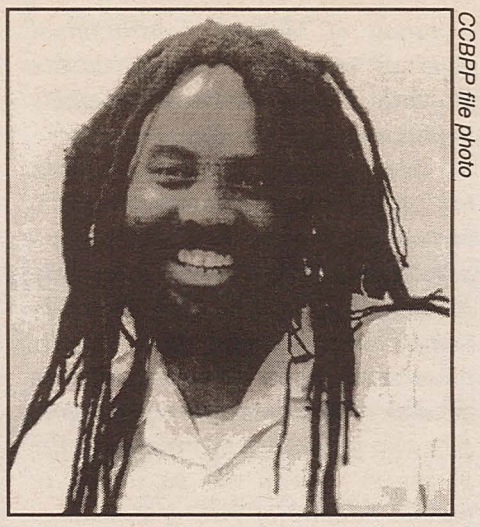
On November 5, 2001, Mr. Abu-Jamal's attorney sent a letter to federal Judge, William H. Yohn, Jr., comparing Mr. Abu-Jamal's case to the Sacco and Vanzetti case in the 1920's. The letter strongly urged Judge Yohn "to ensure that history does not repeat itself...with an innocent man being executed while the confession of the real murderer is ignored."

According to The New York Times, *at the end of November, Judge Pamela Dembe of Common Pleas Court in Philadelphia rejected a plea for a new trial for Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal stating that she did not have jurisdiction over Mr. Abu-Jamal's petition for a new trial, scuttling the option for state court appeals. His federal appeal is still pending.*

Since the inception of The Commemorator *newspaper in 1990, we have consistently provided our readers with updates on Mumia's case as well as other political prisoners, such as Ruchell Magee, Hugo (Yogi) Pinell, Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt) and printed commentaries by them and other railroaded prisoners as a part of our effort to get the real stories out to the general public.*

All power to the people

Mumia on 9-11



CCBPP file photo

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Editor's note: The following article by Mumia Abu-Jamal raises the infamous buzzword term: "terrorism." Mumia examines "terrorism" and lays bare the narrow-mindedness and hypocrisy of the United States capitalist media when it defines "terrorism," quoting John Stockwell in 1976, a former CIA station chief in Angola.

The narrow definition of "terrorism" according to the U.S. media, under the tutelage of the Federal Communication Commission(FCC) will not deal with the tens of millions of people who have died world-wide because of U.S. policies directly tied to state-terrorism on governments that are not friendly to the U.S. After all it was the CIA and the U.S. government that funded and trained Afghan rebels who once worked with the CIA against the former Soviet Union as CIA operatives.

For too many Americans, the word "terrorism" has acquired a whole new meaning in the dusty aftermath of 11 September 2001. The word now instantly refers to the mental imagery of the shattered twin towers of the World Trade Center in downtown Manhattan, or the broken edifice of the Pentagon building in Washington, or even the smouldering mound of earth in southwestern Pennsylvania.

They refer to the thousands of people, from dozens of countries who lost their lives when the buildings were shattered, broken and leveled into dust. But, if truth be told, they refer mostly to Americans.

When an airliner in the far-off South China Sea area develops engine trouble, and plummets into the ocean depths, reporters always rush to inform us, "Flight 502 of a Pan Am to Hong Kong went down over the South China Sea today: 15 Americans were on board." In such a common report, it is implicitly assumed that those of other nationalities are of lesser importance. They don't *really* matter.

It is indeed possible to look at the events of 11 September in a somewhat similar light. For, if it is indeed found that the acts of that day may be traced to terrorists, working out of Middle Eastern organizations, what most will ignore is another kind of terrorism. It is waged against the poor and powerless of many nations. It kills, maims, tortures, and destroys many thousands of people every year.

It is the spectre of State Terrorism. Don't expect to find eye-catching exposes in the Daily Blah, or to hear about it on your favorite network news program in the evening on the tube. You have to look hard for this stuff. Consider the views of John Stockwell, a former CIA station chief (Angola), who considers the work that he was doing overseas, on behalf of the US government, to be supporting terrorism. He looks at the time when a man named Bush headed the CIA: "CIA Director George Bush allegedly worked to convince the former OPMONGOOSE operators to reorganize outside the United States. In June 1976, they went to the Dominican Republic and founded CORU, a counter-revolutionary group. On October 26, 1976, they blew up an airplane that was taking off from Barbados, killing 73 passengers on board in a raw act of terrorism. Luis

"...the CIA has overthrown functioning constitutional democracies in over 20 countries. It has manipulated elections in dozens of countries."

Posada Carrilles and Orlando Bosch were jailed in Venezuela for that bombing. There is evidence that members of this same CIA/Cuban exile community participated in the killing of President John F. Kennedy in 1963. We also know that the CIA's 1980 contra program later managed to get Luis Posada Carrilles out of prison in Venezuela. They put him to work for Felix Rodriguez, who was reporting directly to then Vice-President Bush's Office. As Felix Rodriguez told the press, 'We needed him.'"

He was referring to Carrilles, the terrorist airplane bomber (See *The Praetorian Guard: The U.S. Role in the New World Order* (Boston: South End Press, 1991.) These are the words of a man who spent over a decade in the CIA, and even served briefly on a subcommittee of the National Security Council, during the Kissinger era. Even though his work had to be cleared by CIA censors to be published, his view of how the United States government has functioned, through its CIA, is telling: "To summarize, the CIA has overthrown functioning constitutional

Continued on page 24

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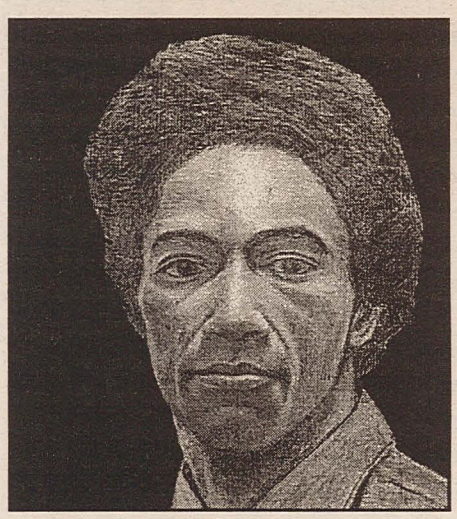
Ruchell Magee Update



Ruchell Cinque Magee framed and held captive 44 years by the U.S. unjust system

Editor's note: The Commemorator *has been following the case of Ruchell Cinque Magee for over six years (See* The Commemorator *August 1996 issue, "Jury Foreman Petitions New Trial for Ruchell C. Magee," and February 2000, "Ruchell Magee: Letter to the Governor," Governor Davis did not reply). Magee is currently on the mainline of Corcoran State Prison doing his 39th year locked up in California Gulags — many of those years spent in solitary confinement under cruel and inhuman conditions. Brother Magee has been caged for nearly 40 years!*

Magee was imprisoned in the state of California for a $10 crime, and then was locked away for the remainder of the time because of his political activities. The charges against him were related to his alleged participation in the August 7, 1970 rebellion at the Marin County Courthouse. Magee and William Christmas were appearing as witnesses for James McClain. Jonathan Jackson had entered the courtroom during the hearing. Jackson then stood up and shouted "Freeze!" and tossed weapons to McClain, Magee and Christmas. In the attempted escape, before the men could get Jackson's van out of the courthouse parking lot, prison guards and sheriff's opened fire on the vehicle, killing Christmas, Jackson, McClain, as well as the judge. The D.A. was permanently paralyzed by gunfire. Magee is the only survivor of the 1970 Marin County Courthouse Rebellion.

A "not guilty" finding by the jury on the kidnapping charge stemming from the Marin County Courthouse incident was suppressed from the public by California Attorney General Evelle Younger's office, and a retrial was held in Santa Clara County, in violation of Magee's constitutional right of protection against double jeopardy. Magee has been wrongfully imprisoned until this day.

Ruchell Cinque Magee has been in California state prison since 1963, including 17 years in Pelican Bay's notorious (Maximum) Security Housing Unit. Objectively, in violation of the jury system that allegedly protects the rights of Americans from the abuses of a powerful central government, he has been consigned to life in prison without the possibility of parole, in spite of having committed no physical assaults or murders.

Under the 1976 SB 42 matrix of sentencing guidelines, the initial sentence for robbery of $10 should have been reduced to eight years, and sentencing for the Marin County Courthouse kidnapping should have been reduced to 25 years maximum.

"His main crime has been that he has never given up revolutionary struggle...continuing to raise his voice against injustice."

Magee is one of the world's longest imprisoned political prisoners in this nation that claims to have no political prisons or political prisoners. Magee has served his time and should be freed forthwith. His main crime has been that he has never given up revolutionary struggle, serving as a jailhouse lawyer to hundreds of inmates and continuing to raise his voice against injustice even at great personal cost to himself.

The Black August 2001 statement (see page 7), is an open address written in April 2001 by brother Ruchell Magee and sent by Magee to Judge Robert E. Coyle of the Federal Court, Eastern District at Fresno, California. To date, Judge Coyle has not responded. Magee's supporters have forwarded his latest appeal to progressive newspapers throughout the nation to publicize Magee's demand for release in the name of injustice; The Commemorator is printing it as was submitted.

If you would like to contact Ruchell Magee, who is in a new jurisdiction, please write to him at the following address: A92051, 3A 02 204, P.O. Box 3461, Corcoran, CA 93272

Affidavit of Bernard J. Suares

"I have been ignored for more than 23 years and demand that I be heard in a court of law. I will testify and can prove that the Jury was unanimous in their declaration that they found Mr. Ruchell Magee 'Not Guilty.'

STATE OF CALIFORNIA COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO
AUGUST 6TH, 2001

I, Bernard J. Suares, hereby dispose and declare:

1. That I was elected Jury Foreman in the trial of Ruchell Magee, Case Number 68668, Superior Court of San Francisco County;
2. That I reside in San Francisco County;
3. That at the end of the jury's deliberations (commenced on March 26th, 1973, and terminated April 3rd, 1973) all twelve Jurors found Mr. Magee not guilty of violating P.C. 209 (kidnapping for the purpose of extortion);
4. I informed Judge Morton Colvin by written note that all twelve Jurors had reached a unanimous "not guilty" verdict.

Without rendering a judgment on the acquittal, Judge Colvin declared a mistrial on April 3rd, 1973 contradicting the law (Calif. Evidence Code Section 1150 Subdivision (a):"validity of a verdict,";

5. On April 27th, 1973, I filed a written declaration of the acquittal on the Kidnap Charge with the Superior Court of San Francisco County (Case Number 68668). Other Jurors joined my declaration with written statements confirming the acquittal;
6. I am now informed the Prosecution hid the acquittal he gave to Judge Colvin, and Judge Colvin sealed it. The Prosecutor also created a fraudulent document styled "affidavit" attributed to Juror *William Irwin*, portraying the Juror's "Not Guilty"declaration of April 27th, 1973, as being impeached;
7. As shown by the decision, (*Ruchell Magee vs. Superior Court of Santa Clara County* [1973] 34 Cal. App. ed 201), Mr. Magee's Court appointed lawyer, Robert D. Carrow, failed to report the acquittal given to Judge Colvin by me, before he declared mistrial. Had the acquittal been disclosed, the appellate Court would have honored the acquittal on the Kidnap charge in accordance with Evidence Code 1150, supra.

I have appealed to the Court and have presented proof of acquittal, which is being concealed by the Court in violation of the RICO Act and Mr. Magee's Constitutional right to a fair trial.

I have been ignored for more than 23 years and demand that I be heard in a court of law. I will testify and can prove that the Jury was unanimous in their declaration that they found Mr. Ruchell Magee "Not Guilty."

I declare under penalty of perjury the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Respectfully yours,
Bernard J. Suares
1890 23rd Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94122

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN TO BEFORE ME THIS 6th DAY OF AUGUST 2001.
DIANA B. TRIGUEROS
NOTARY PUBLIC
My Commission expires: April 12, 2003

In addition, several attempts to petition the courts with proof of the acquittal have been concealed and that is a violation of the RICO Act and Mr. Magee's right to a fair trial. All attempts have been ignored for the past 23 years.

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Black August 2001 Statement

Open Address to: Robert E. Coyle, Federal Court Judge, Eastern District at Fresno, California

Today, you Robert E. Coyle, joined by secret organized crime, are suppressing "independent evidence" to block my release from imprisonment illegally. Even you, with no shame in your dirty sick game, fear the public will be made aware of the years of outrageous constitutional violations.

You are too silly … to disqualify from the current litigation (In Re: Ruchell Cinque Magee, CJF-00-6212REC) before this court.

The facts and evidence of wrongful imprisonment are self-explanatory and plain enough that even a third grade school kid would understand. The evidence clearly shows:

The California Board of Prison Terms (BPT), taking on the role of a court system, held my person in prison longer than the sentence the court required.

Fact: The Los Angeles County Superior Court prosecution commenced March 1963, showing a sentence of 7 years to life for kidnapping (violation of penal code 209) to rob Mr. Brown for $10.

Fact: While in prison August 7, 1970, I was convicted and sentenced for kidnapping stemming from the Marin County Rebellion where four persons died as a result of gunfire by prison guards claiming authority to kill innocent people to stop prisoners from escaping.

Fact: All my rights were taken upon placing me in prison.

Fact: There comes a time and point when all rights must be restored to me during the time required by the law under which I was sentenced.

Evidence: The old law matrix shows 17 years being the maximum time for kidnapping.

Fact and law: In 1976, the California legislature enacted the Indeterminate Sentence Law, directing the board of parole to fix time in all life sentences by July 1, 1977 in accord with P.C.1170.2. The legislation changed laws as to the Indeterminate Sentence Law, and explained its intent to stop the board of parole from twisting the words of the new law to increase prison term in violation of ex post facto provisions.

Prison authority has played around with the law, releasing only inmates they chose, refusing to release my person and thousands of other prisoners. In the early 1980s the prison officials invented a law using the word suitability. Upon failing to release prisoners who had served all of our sentences, this board acting as court used the words "not suitable" for parole. In my case, it is not about parole, it is about discharge from prison.

Fact and law: I have served 39 years in prison since 1963, on two seven-years-to-life sentences that the court ran together. Even one day beyond 17 years constitutes life without possibility of parole.

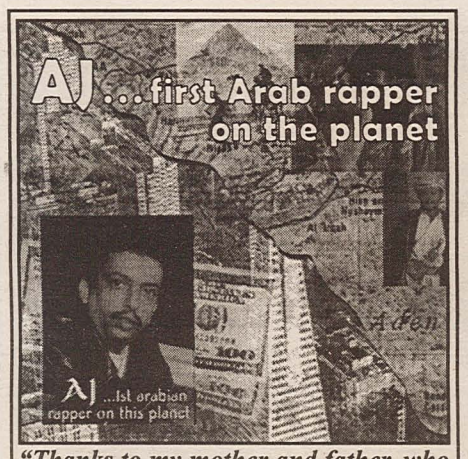
Law: In 1975, the court decided two cases that substantially amended the Indeterminate Sentence Law. The first case was *People vs. Wingo*, 121 Cal.RPTR.97. *Wingo* established that lifers had a right to have their primary terms expeditiously fixed at a specific number of years proportionate to their crime. Second was the decision titled In Re: Rodriguez.122 Cal.RPTR.552. The Rodriguez court ruled that the BPT had been abusing its discretion by failing to "expeditiously" fix the primary terms of indeterminately sentenced prisoners.

Because of your ignorance, I must file before the public, and the U.S. Supreme Court for release from illegal imprisonment caused by fools with a law badge who don't belong in public office. You clowns disgrace the people in every state!

You can't hide forever, Robert E. Coyle, even with President George Bush backing.

I said it,

Ruchell Cinque Magee



"Thanks to my mother and father, who caught me by surprise and encouraged me to continue making music," AJ.

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Letters to the Editor

America's New Slave System

P.I.A.: Prison Industry Authority

Dear Editor,

After four years in a state prison, I was finally getting a chance to go to the yard where I thought I wanted to be. East Dorm is what it's called. A small dorm living that has about 400 inmates at most. Other yards hold upwards of 1,500 inmates. So, living on a small yard would definitely be a change for the better, plus the fact that

"These items aren't given to them, they are sold for the prices of about 15 dollars a shirt."

although East Dorm is a dorm living environment, inmates are allowed to keep most of their belongings such as T.V.s, radios, etc. But the biggest attraction to East Dorm is the fact that every inmate has a paying job. Something that is extremely hard to come by in prison, granted, these jobs pay anywhere from only 30¢ to 75¢ an hour with limited positions at 95¢ an hour. To an inmate this can seem like thousands.

So here I was, my first day in East Dorm. I requested to work in Textiles. I was started at 30¢, which is about 40 dollars a month. As the days and weeks passed different things became apparent to me. East Dorm was far from what I thought it to be.

East Dorm consists of nothing but sweatshops. Something like one would've seen in Taiwan. Only difference is here prisoners are used. The atmosphere in the Textile shop is degrading. Rows of inmates on sewing machines making shirts for other prisons, youth authority facilities, and for Cal Trans. Supervisors constantly walk around the shop making sure inmates are doing their job. "Sew this. You're doing this wrong. You're not sewing enough." And so forth. If they're not doing that then they are trying to enforce their no-talking policy. An inmate is required to sew a certain amount of shirts a day depending on which job they are doing. Anywhere from 200 shirts to four or five hundred shirts are required. According to the law, however, no quotas can be implemented. This is easily circumvented by implementing "standards."

Inmates sit in this shop for more than seven hours a day making shirt after shirt. It's a mundane environment. The inmates sit mostly in silence sewing shirts and keeping complaints to a low murmur. All the while this shop is making hundreds of thousands of dollars a month off of their hard labor. I found out that mostly everything made in Textiles is for other government organizations or facilities. These items aren't given to them, they are sold for the price of about 15 dollars a shirt. With a quick calculation one can easily see that a huge profit is being made. The Textile shop makes 800 completed shirts a day!

Yet Textiles is not the only shop in East Dorm. There is also the Wood shop. Textiles has only about 70 inmates working whereas the Wood shop has almost all the rest of the inmates in the dorm besides the few jobs that are required for the kitchen and dorm porters.

This Wood shop makes desks, tables, bookcases, chairs, etc. These items are sold to government facilities around the state for hundreds of dollars apiece. Some items are of such good quality that it wouldn't surprise me if one *were* to find them in commercial stores. This Wood shop grosses much more money than Textiles, clearing over 2 million dollars a year. The inmates receive the same pay as the inmates in Textiles starting at 30¢ an hour and maxing out at 75¢ an hour.

As bad as these shops are, the effect runs much deeper than I had at first realized. After the jobs are all done for the day everyone has to come back to the dorm to live. A warehouse turned living quarters. About 370 people living in close proximity to each other.

This environment breeds separation among the inmates even within their own races because of competition for job positions or because some inmates feel they must do what they can to protect the environment that they live in. Even more so, this environment is detrimental to an inmate's whole process of rehabilitation. The conditions that this environment creates are the problem, not the fact that the inmates make money. Sitting in a dorm for years on end where nothing but a minuscule amount of money is being made while time passes by that could've been used to gain some education or deal with the issues that lead a person to prison in the first place. The inmates here are willing to accept an inhumane environment for a few dollars a month; an environment where only six toilets are available for close to 400 inmates; an environment where there is hardly enough space to walk around, let alone get some privacy; an environment where if one person gets sick it's almost inevitable that you will also.

Malcolm X once made an analogy in a speech to explain how people are docile and kept under control. He said: "It's like when you go to the dentist,

Continued on page 18

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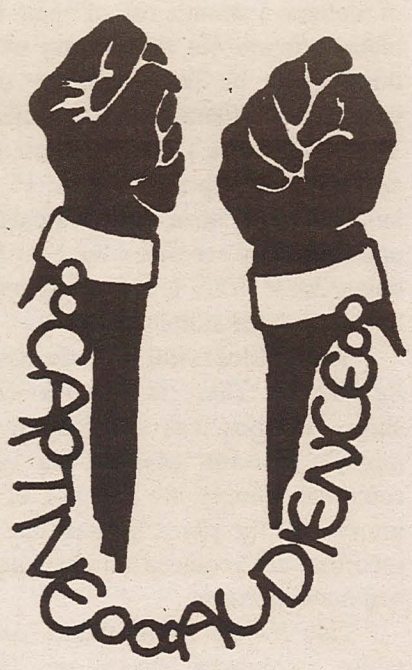

By John Donner

Capitalism and Chattel Slavery — a Basic Economic Contradiction

The "peculiar institution of chattel slavery" required the slave-owner/master class to pay the total cost of the food, clothes, shelter, health care and life and death essentials for every slave. This included slaves producing zero profit. Slaves owned as property, or chattel, couldn't simply be laid off or fired when market conditions for slave labor or products were unfavorable. Therefore, the cost of sustaining slave labor had to be paid even when the slave-owner/master class suffered losses. The cost of sustaining slave labor could not be reduced or eliminated by decreasing or stopping production. Decreasing or stopping production would merely reduce or eliminate non-labor costs, but the cost of sustaining each slave would still have to be paid by the owner/master class. Moreover, this cost had to be continuously paid whether production and demand were booming or had ceased.

The institution of chattel slavery was based on the slave's status as property bound to his/her owner. The owner/master class was bound to the cost of sustaining each slave by the same chain that bound each slave to the owner/master class as property. Relieving the owner/master class of the cost of sustaining the slave class meant breaking the chain binding the two opposing classes, totally destroying chattel slavery itself.

The Civil War (1861-1865) supplied both the coup de main (sudden massive force) needed to break the chain and the coup de grace (death blow) which banished chattel slavery to the dust bin of American history. This paved the way for more subtle, yet efficient, methods of class-based oppression, exploitation, subjugation and genocide.

Chattel slavery had enabled the then-established colonial powers and America (relatively soon to achieve the status of unparalleled empire) to accumulate, via class/race-based genocide and other means, the resources needed for the birth of industrial capitalism in the womb of chattel slavery. But, chattel slavery's basic economic contradiction stood in the way of further capitalist development. Chattel slavery required the owner/masters to pay for sustaining each slave including slaves producing zero profit. (How do you fire or lay off a slave?)

The cost of sustaining slaves could not be avoided when market factors were unfavorable. Chattel slavery made it impossible to effectively employ methods using less labor to produce.

Chattel-slavery's inability to minimize labor cost as a fundamental means for maximizing profit directly conflicted with basic capitalist theory that profit is equal to revenue minus costs. One need not be a political economist to comprehend that chattel slavery's systemic inability to minimize labor costs (a major factor of overall costs) will tend not to maximize, but to minimize, profit instead.

Although labor costs appear directly as the cost of wages, the "Labor Theory of Value," pioneered by capitalist icons Adam Smith and David Ricardo but perfected by communist revolutionary Karl Marx, teaches that the value of every commodity is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor time required for its production. Labor costs thus appear again disguised and hidden as a part of the costs of both the instrument and materials used by labor during the production process. Labor costs permeate, and are a predominant factor of, the overall costs that capitalism seeks to minimize in order to maximize profit.

The "peculiar institution's" inability to minimize labor costs could not be solved by introducing technology, machinery or automation (all methods central to capitalist exploitation of labor). This would merely create a tendency toward production based upon fewer and fewer workers, which in turn would accelerate the growth rate of slaves producing no profit. Developing new markets still leaves intact the initial problem of the inability to minimize labor costs in order to maximize profit, and is equally fruitless. Only a different system of capitalist production appeared to be the solution.

The money, land, materials, reserve labor force and markets American industrial capitalism needed to evolve into its next developmental phase were not available, precisely because they were bound up in the institution of chattel slavery. Capitalism's further and future development necessarily depended upon destroying chattel slavery, not on the basis of moral reasons, but based on economic necessity. What capitalism needed to survive and grow chattel slavery had exclusive control over; capitalism had to kill chattel slavery or die itself.

Once freed by the Civil War, the money, land, materials, reserve labor force and markets that had been bound up in chattel slavery were then available to fuel the rapid growth of capitalist production based on wage-prison-debt slavery.

Wage-Prison-Debt Slavery

Under wage slavery the entire cost of the wage slave's survival was at first placed on the wage-slave worker. Unlike the chattel slave, the wage-slave worker could be, and was, laid off and fired whenever: (1) market conditions were unfavorable; (2) technology, machinery or automation required fewer workers; or (3) cheaper scab labor was brought in or found elsewhere (as today).

The inability of wage-slave workers to survive under capitalism, either in the work force or outside of it, on insufficient income, created explosive socioeconomic class pressures, which caused the requirement that the entire cost of the wage slave's survival be shouldered by the wage-slave worker to begin to unravel under the threat of impending violent social revolution.

Civil War, Union Army veterans were soon paid meager pensions. German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck implemented compulsory old age insurance in 1889, financed by wage slave, government and employer contributions. By the early 1900s in America, pittance pensions were generally extended to veterans (especially disabled veterans), and the government began some payments to its civilian employees, needy widows and orphans. In Europe, by the 1920s, wage-slave so-called retirement programs based on worker, government and employer contributions were fairly common.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his "brain trust" proposed the 1935 Social Security Act, as part of the "New Deal," against the backdrop of the social upheaval of the Great Depression, which began in 1930. Roosevelt urged that the unemployment compensation, public assistance, health care and similar social welfare aspects of the New Deal were needed to stem the tide of violent social revolution due to the economic suffering capitalism imposed on the working class during the Great Depression.

Unlike under chattel slavery, the New Deal and various aspects of ruling class so-called social welfare programs worldwide, did not require the owners of the large scale means of

Continued on page 12

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Archives

Huey's Corner

Editor's note: In 1977, Dr. Huey P. Newton earned a Ph.D. at the University of California at Santa Cruz. This archive piece by Huey Newton was taken from his doctoral dissertation entitled Formation and Purpose of the Party: What Makes It Different? *Newton used the discourse to explain the Black Panther Party's ideology of Revolutionary Intercommunalism. As Newton pointed out, "First, the Panthers embraced from the outset an explicit socialist ideology which it soon named 'revolutionary intercommunalism,' that the United States stands as an empire of the world that subjected former nations into communities of the world. Revolutionary intercommunalism provided an important paradigm for interpreting the world, much as the belief in* laissez faire *capitalism affects action of corporate decision makers who embrace it."*

This new development clarified and focused the party's mission of uniting Blacks and low-income communities against economic exploitation and systemic discrimination. The BPP began to build intercommunal survival programs organized and led by revolutionaries: free breakfast for school children, free clinics, food banks, liberation schools, not based on nationhood, but on intercommunalism.

But those survival programs were attacked and eventually undermined. BPP Field Marshal George Jackson pointed out, "We bake our own bread," meaning that the revolution had to be independent of outside control, yet the BPP failed to maintain that position, and became heavily dependent on foundation grants and even government funding. This allowed the government to dictate the terms of the BPP's formerly independent programs. By 1982, after coming under heavy attack by the state auditors and the IRS, the Black Panther Party was forced to disband. The remaining members officially ended the party.

The image of armed Black Panthers on the steps of the California State Capitol building is burned into the consciousness of many Americans as symbolic of our empowerment and dignity, and for BPP detracters and the media as simply thuggish violence and braggadocio. However, the party made many efforts against oppression that the media never publicized and escaped much of America's conscience. Police patrols were a key part of the early Black Panther Party survival and self-defense programs, as were the Free Breakfast Program for Hungry Children, the fight against the deadly disease of Sickle Cell Anemia, and the literacy program through the Liberation School. CCBPP carries on this tradition through the Li'l Bobby Hutton Memorial Literacy Campaign which is entirely free of outside grants and influence, supported by the community it serves. Liberation will not be given to us. We must take it. Your participation and your contributions are needed to make this happen. Call the CCBPP today at (510) 652-7170.

The thesis was recently published by the Huey P. Newton Foundation in a book called The War Against the Panthers: A Study of Oppression in America, *(Writers and Readers, 1999), and is available at your local book store.*

BPP Intercommunal News

Celebrating the Black Panther Party 35th Anniversary of the Founding 1966 -2001

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Formation and Purpose of the Party:

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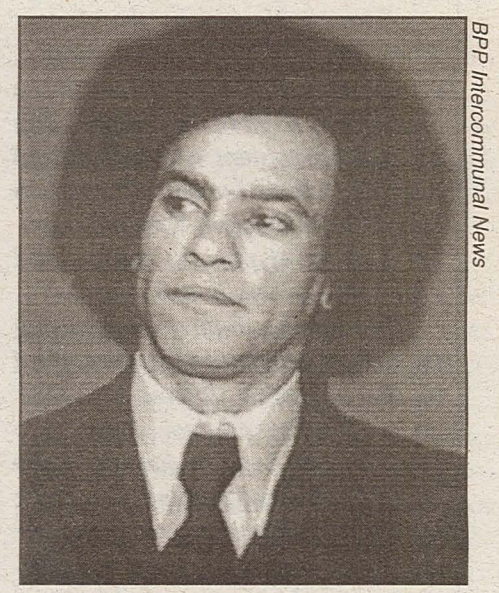

BPP Intercommunal News

Dr. Huey P. Newton

Some people think they are Marxists when actually they are following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxist-Leninists but they refuse to be creative, and are, therefore, tied to the past. They are tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that approaches dogma . . . If we are using the method of dialectical materialism we don't expect to find anything the same even one minute later because "one minute later" is history. If things are in a constant state of change, we cannot expect them to be the same. Words used to describe old phenomena may be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe new events we run the risk of confusing people and misleading them into thinking that things are static.[3]

By 1966 the United States had experienced a recent series of disruptions in several of its major urban Black population centers — Harlem, Watts, Chicago and Detroit.[1] Numerous organizations and leaders representing groups of Black people — e.g., SCLC (Martin Luther King, Jr.), the Black Muslims (Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X), CORE (James Farmer), NAACP (Roy Wilkins) — had repeatedly articulated the causes of these "riots" or "urban rebellions": high unemployment, bad housing, police brutality, poor health care and inferior educational opportunities. Their consensus on the ills that caused or contributed to the violent explosions in inner cities was confirmed by official investigating bodies such as the Kerner and McCone Commissions.[2] While all groups were generally in agreement on the specific maladies of the society affecting Blacks, they were in disagreement as to the best solutions for ending them. The Black nationalists favored separatism; traditional liberals, integration and passage of new legal guarantees, and some of the more activist oriented demanded "revolution now." Amidst this clamor for social justice, the Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland, California in 1966.

A. Ideology of Revolutionary Intercommunalism

The Party differed from other organizations representing Black and poor persons in several respects. First, the Panthers embraced from the outset an explicit socialist ideology which it soon named "revolutionary intercommunalism." In essence, the Party acknowledged that it was, despite certain differences, basically socialist or Marxist because it followed the dialectical method and sought to integrate theory and practice. As the founder of the Panthers observed:

We are not mechanical Marxists and we are not historical materialists.

This espousal of "revolutionary intercommunalism" by the BPP obviously influenced the perception of others about it, especially, as will be shown, the federal government. Of equal importance, however; is the effect this ideology has upon the actions of the Party and the decisions

Continued on page 14

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International Update

What's At Stake in Haiti?

Haiti Stands for Sovereignty and Self-Determination Against Militarism, Privatization, IMF led by Monopoly Capitalism and the US Media

Editor's Note: In the August 1994 issue, The Commemorator, *printed an update on Haiti about the September 1991 military coup against President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, whose Lavalas Party won Haiti's 1990 election with the popular support of peasant groups and exploited workers in urban areas.*

In response to this victory, using the reviled techniques long practiced by the notorious Tonton Macoutes under Haitian dictator Papa Doc Duvalier and later by his son, Baby Doc, U.S.-backed paramilitary death squads waged campaigns of horror and fear, targeting women and children, murdering, maiming and terrorizing the poor and working class people who supported the Aristide movement — the same groupings which had ousted the repressive Duvalier regime in 1986. The U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) earmarked hundreds of millions of U.S. taxpayer dollars for the illegal fascist military government.

"The history of Haiti is to keep people, the masses, isolated so that there will continue to be cheap labor. The oligarchy are the only people who have access to the global market, and the people must sell to the oligarchy," said Pierre LaBossiere, an Haitian-American activist, told The Commemorator *in an interview in October 1995. (See also* The Commemorator, *December, 1995, "Foreign Aid Undermines Haiti's Sovereignty.")*

Now, under the U.S.-dominated International Monetary Fund's plans for Haiti, many formerly government-owned industries like the electricity company are being privatized and sold to multinationals, such as Disney, that maintain policies of oppression by, for example, contracting with textile companies who pay their workers slave wages. As this issue goes to press, a failed coup against President Aristide has just taken place.

There are 1.5 million Haitians and Haitian-Americans living in the United States. Many came to the U.S. during the repressive Duvalier reign, fleeing in fear for their lives. More recently, Haitians have come to the U.S. seeking economic refuge, since Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere, but they face hostile U.S. immigration policy, and 50% are unable to gain legal status.

The following article by Haitian Action Committee gives an update on the country since the return of President Aristide, who won the Haitian presidential election in 2001, with international support from progressive people around the globe. In it, Mr. LaBossiere describes the continued struggle for sovereignty and freedom for the people of that tiny nation — a population of over ten million, 95% direct descendants of African slaves — in the face of international imperialist and neo-imperialist forces which have controlled it for over 300 years.

From Haiti Action Committee

In 1893 Frederick Douglass, then envoy to Haiti, said he felt compelled to defend Haiti against the prejudices of "newspaper correspondents and six-day tourists" by pointing out that Haiti seemed capable of enduring crisis without "falling to pieces and without being hopelessly abandoned to barbarism."

Not much has changed. According to much of the mainstream media, Haiti is still on the brink of chaos. Despite the fact that President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected in 2001 with over 70% of the popular vote, the press casts Aristide as an illegitimate ruler while it touts an elite opposition with no demonstrable popular support as a "shadow government."

Laced with racism and condescension, corporate media reports depict Haitians as failures at democracy and incapable of running their own country. Just as in 1990 when President Aristide was first elected, there is now a concerted campaign to destabilize and isolate the Haitian government.

At a minimum, this intense international pressure severely limits the ability of the Haitian people and government to create progressive social and economic change. In 1990, this type of campaign contributed to the violent overthrow of Haiti's elected government and to the deaths of 5,000 Haitians during the three years of military rule that followed.

Under the best of circumstances Haiti faces enormous challenges: a harrowing polarization of wealth, economic poverty, lack of infrastructure, a badly damaged environment, and the legacy of centuries of education denied to the majority.

Why are the United States Government and its media mouthpieces mounting a campaign against a country and people struggling under such difficult circumstances towards genuine democratic development?

1. Haiti has a vibrant and well-organized popular movement. During the 1980s a highly diverse and organized popular movement grew up in Haiti. Made up of thousands of urban neighborhood groups, peasant organizations, women's and human rights groups, this movement led the fight to overthrow the Duvalier regime in 1986, paved the way for Haiti's first democratic election in 1990, and heroically resisted the coup d'etat of 1991. The coup period devastated organized grassroots groups in Haiti.

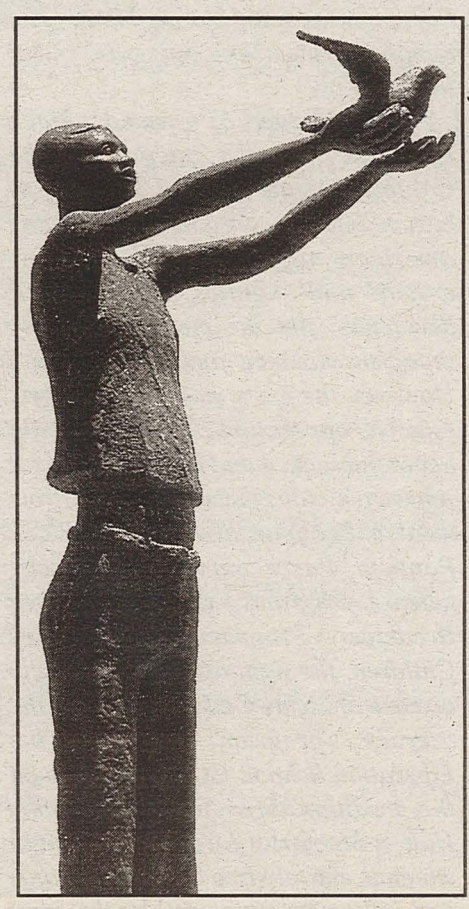

Photo by Daniel Kedar

Mument to the victims of the

The years since have seen a slow but steady rebuilding with many groups turning their attention to the long-term work of building cooperative economic structures, and of healing the land.

The strength of the Haitian popular movement and its history of struggle represents a challenge to the dominant economic model of globalization.

The people of Haiti are resisting corporate globalization

2. In Haiti, globalization is known as the "plan lamo" or the "death plan." Since 1994, the Haitian people and government have borne intense pressure to adopt neoliberal economic policies (opening of markets to U.S. goods, maintaining low wages, austerity programs, and the privatization of state-owned enterprises).

When Aristide came back to Haiti in 1994, U.S. officials expected that Haiti's public enterprises — the telephone company, electrical company, airport, port, three banks, a cement factory and flour mill — would be quickly sold to private corporations, preferably to U.S. multinationals working in partnership with Haitian elites. In the last months of his first term as president, Aristide refused to move forward with privatization, calling instead for a national dialogue on the issue. In 1996, Rene Preval, an Aristide supporter, won the Presidential election succeeding Aristide. The Preval government attempted to fast track privatization and gain U.S. support. Preval faced massive popular demonstrations, which led to the fall of his first government and a protracted political struggle that left the country without a Prime Minister for almost two years. Despite U.S. pressure, seven years later, only the flour mill and the cement mill have been sold.

In recent years, Aristide has continued to be a spokesman for an alternative vision, one which places human development at the center of all economic programs.

"...the Haitian people and government need...a degree of freedom from international harassment."

Now that Aristide is back in power, the U.S. is again tightening the screws, hoping to force his government to accede to Washington's economic agenda, and to severely limit the Haitian government's ability to invest in its own people.

3. Haiti has a popularly elected government that has committed itself to making health care and education its top priorities.

The Famni Lavalas platform, on which President Aristide based his candidacy, proposes decentralized

Continued on page 11

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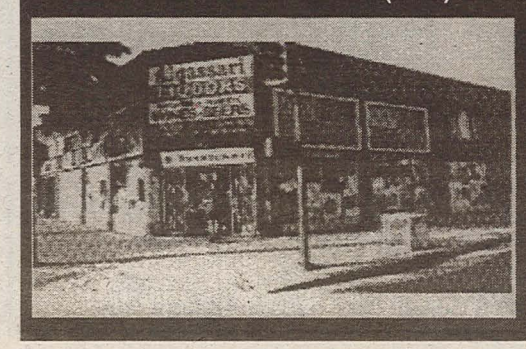

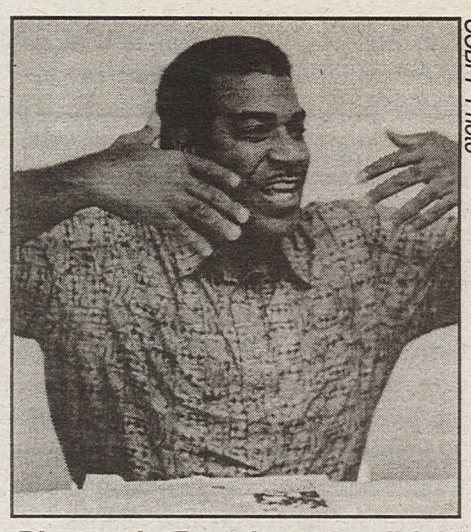

CCBPP Photo

Pierre LaBossiere, political organizer and long-time* Commemorator *correspondent on Haiti's struggle for self-determination

Haiti Stands

Continued from page 10

rural development, funded by Haitian government resources. It prioritizes small-scale community-based projects as key to rural development. The centerpiece of the platform is a plan to build, staff and equip a primary school and primary health care clinic in each of Haiti's 565 rural sections.

4. Haiti is the only country in the world, aside from Costa Rica, with no military.

In 1995, President Aristide disbanded the Haitian military. Wildly popular in Haiti, the move caught the U.S. by surprise. Created during the U.S. occupation of Haiti from 1915-1934, the Haitian military served throughout its history as a force of internal repression against the Haitian people. As is the case throughout Latin America, the Haitian military was a conduit for covert and overt United States intervention in Haitian affairs. This conduit is now gone. The Haitian military once absorbed 40% of Haiti's national budget. Today, Haiti spends zero on the military, making it a model in devoting resources to human development rather than to militarism.

5. Haiti has built close, cooperative ties with Cuba.

On February 6th, 1996, in his final act in office, President Aristide reestablished diplomatic relations with Cuba. The Preval government deepened and strengthened ties with Cuba. Cuban assistance has been concrete, effective, practical, appropriate and speedy — in stark contrast to the wasteful, fly-in-another-highly-paid expert type of "aid" offered by the United States and the international lending agencies.

Cuba has sent more than 800 doctors to Haiti as part of a joint Haitian-Cuban effort to cut infant mortality in half. Cuba has also provided critical assistance in agriculture, literacy, communications, and fisheries. This cooperation stands as a clear challenge to U.S. plans for Haiti.

"Long before 1804, from the moment they were taken from their homes, our ancestors began the struggle against slavery...The revolution, when it

Continued on page 22

Book Review

The Prison Industry

Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis, By Christian Parenti, published by Verso, $15 paperback.

Going Up the River: Travels in a Prison Nation, By Joseph T. Hallinan, published by Random House, $24.95.

By Mel Fiske

Remember the movie about the fan that built a baseball field on his Iowa farm because some voice told him: "If you build it, they will come." In real life, politicians and profiteers have followed the movie plot: they've built prisons — by the hundreds in the last 20 years — and filled them with millions of men and women who not only come to the cells but can't leave.

Prisons have become big business, one of America's few growth industries. Close to two million Americans — most of them African-Americans and Latinos — are locked away, the largest prison population in the world, more than matching its rival, Russia. Why the huge surge in American prisons?

One big reason is profits: Joseph Hallinan's book, *Going Up the River*, details the amount of money that prisons make, for the state, private business, guards, construction, transportation and supply companies. It's a $30 billion a year industry, he notes.

Creation of jobs in depressed small towns and rust-belt cities is another reason. Hallinan, a Wall Street Journal reporter, relates how such areas actually panted for prisons and prison jobs and pandered to state and private prison authorities for the privilege of being economically enslaved. Over 525,000 people are employed in state, federal and private prisons.

Christian Parenti, author of *Lockdown America* and a teacher at the New College of California at San Francisco, adds other reasons for the tremendous prison growth. Fear, he says, is the primary one. "...American capitalism would...without major economic reforms, have to manage and contain its surplus populations and poorest classes with paramilitary forms of segregation, containment, and repression."

Parenti maintains that "...capitalism needs the poor and creates poverty...Yet capitalism is also directly and indirectly threatened by the poor. Capitalism always creates...and needs surplus populations, yet faces the threat of political, aesthetic or cultural disruptions from those populations. Prisons and criminal justice are about managing these irreconcilable contradictions."

To help fill the jails, Parenti says, politicians invented drug wars and scapegoats such as "the Black/Latino criminal, the immigrant, the welfare cheat, crack heads, super-predators" to win elections. As a byproduct came laws like three strikes and mandatory minimum sentences which made certain that jails would not only be kept at full capacity but that more would have to be built. The laws perpetuate the prisons and guarantee their growth, says Hallinan.

Nowhere in all the diatribes of the politicians did they pledge to rehabilitate the men and women sentenced to prison; no attempts were made to provide education, training in skills, or counseling; no promises offered to give prisoners a chance to restore

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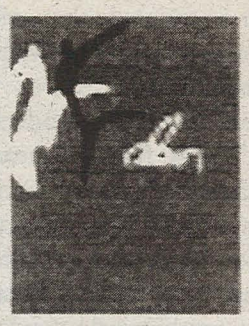

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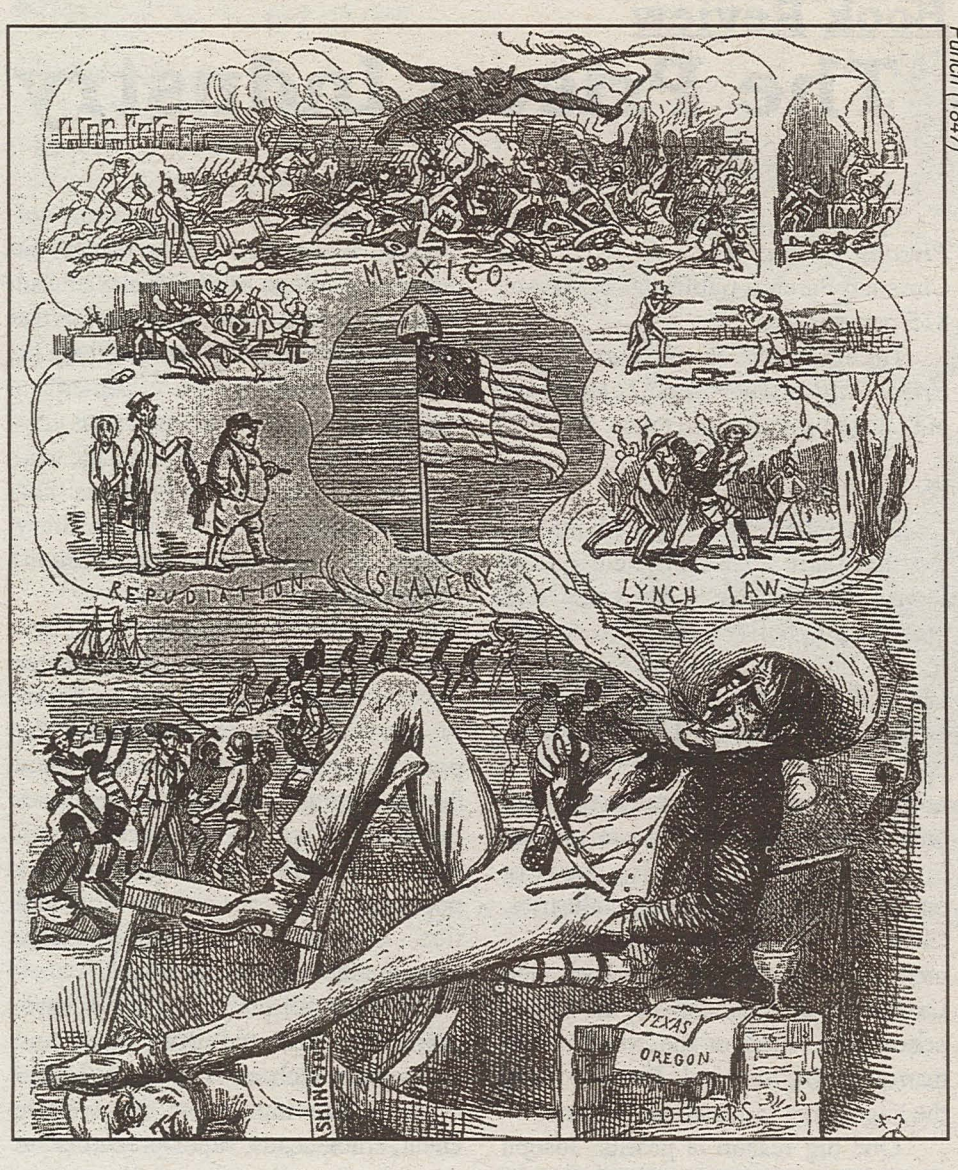

Punch (1847)

Billions Under Capitalism

Continued from page 8

social production to pay the total cost of sustaining workers both in and not in the labor force whose income was not sufficient to live on. Instead, the working class was, and is, required to pay a disproportionate share of this specific cost through direct mandatory payroll taxes and other contribution plans, and pay again, indirectly, through other government imposed taxes, fees and costs.

Such working class contributions amount to trillions of dollars of labor's accumulated earnings. Multinational monopoly capitalism utilized this money to finance ruthless exploitation of wage-slave workers in America and globally, and to spur rampant market speculation by artificially driving up the price of investment securities.

In 1996, private and public pension funds totaled $5.87 trillion. At the time, $2.3 trillion were invested in corporate equities, $1.3 trillion in credit market instruments (including foreign and corporate bonds), $411 billion in mutual funds, and $211 billion in unallocated insurance contracts (including guaranteed investment accounts and variable annuities). Fully $1.4 trillion contributed by wage-slave workers, including $810 billion in 401(k) plan assets, were made available to multinational monopoly capitalist insurance companies, banks, mutual funds and similar entities through defined contribution plans.

Under prison slavery, the working class was, and is, required to pay a disproportionate share (through government-imposed taxes and fees) of the cost of sustaining every prison slave. Just as under chattel slavery, this cost must be continuously paid even when the sale of prison-slave labor or products produced by it is not enough to cover the cost of sustaining the prison slaves.

Neither presidential issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation (effective 1 January 1863), repeal of the Fugitive Slave Laws (1864) nor the Thirteenth Amendment (ratified in 1865) were truly grounded on moral imperatives. They were grounded on naked economic and military interests. The Emancipation Proclamation, which emancipated chattel slaves in Confederate territories only, and repeal of the Fugitive Slave Laws were meant to deprive the Confederacy of the ability to use slaves as collateral for loans, as troops and as labor for war production. The British at the time of the Revolutionary War used this strategy (offering emancipation to slaves making it to British lines). Some of the persons originally settling Sierra Leone in 1787 were former American slaves or their descendants who successfully made it to British lines (notwithstanding that the British also abandoned many slaves who made it to their lines).

The Emancipation Proclamation and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Laws sent a message to European bankers that the chattel slaves (considered property) would not be available as payment in the form of collateral if the Confederacy lost. Combined, the chattel-slaves were valued somewhere in the neighborhood of $2 billion that the Confederacy intended to use as collateral to borrow money for arms and materials needed to continue the Civil War. This fact made it exceedingly difficult, then impossible, for the Confederacy to borrow sufficient funds to prosecute the war.

The Thirteenth Amendment, which outlawed slavery except as punishment for a crime, made the Emancipation Proclamation and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Laws obsolete. It merely guaranteed in legal form what the Civil War guaranteed by force of arms. It guaranteed that the money, land, materials, reserve labor and markets, which chattel slavery had prevented capitalism from having, would now be indefinitely and exclusively available for capitalist exploitation.

The Thirteenth Amendment also guaranteed in legal form that slavery would continue to exist, in relevant part, as prison slavery, under the very same constitutional amendment that pretended to abolish slavery. The Thirteenth Amendment further guaranteed that the ruling class wealthy elite would not be required to pay the total cost of sustaining the entire working class.

Surviving under multinational monopoly capitalism requires access to adequate income. Without it, one becomes a human commodity (*de facto *cash cow, generating money for government agencies and private corporations) whose existence the ruling class is willing to sacrifice.

The infamous "Black Codes," enacted by many former Confederate states and signaling the end of the pretense of equality for former chattel slaves, in combination with the Thirteenth Amendment's prison-slavery provision, began the transformation of America's jails, prisons and death rows from being full of poor white people to being full of poor black and minority people.

The third species of slavery, whose growth was accelerated by the death of chattel slavery and rise of capitalist production, was and is debt-slavery. Debt-slavery continues today to be an indispensable vehicle for the expansion of imperialist subjugation under multinational monopoly capitalism. Part of the Final Declaration issued by the G-77 South Summit in Havana, Cuba in April, 2000 called for the cancellation of the genocidal, crippling debt which keeps 80% of the world's 6 billion people firmly shackled in poverty. African children are born owing $379, Nicaraguan children owing $2,000 in a land where yearly income averages a meager $390.

Sub-Saharan Africa owes $350 billion. Nicaragua pays $221 million a year just to service its debt. This is three times what it spends on health care. In the world today, 3 billion people live on less than $2 a day while 225 billionaires have a combined wealth equaling the annual incomes of 47% of the earth's poorest people.

The Price of Labor's Survival and Capitalism's Final Solution

The question of the cost of the food, clothing, health care (life and death essentials) necessary for working class survival helped propel America into a bloody Civil War in 1861. It almost engulfed America in violent social revolution precipitated by the Great Depression which gripped the world in 1930. This same question is poised again to catapult America and the world into cataclysmic life or death class conflict.

The Nazi labor concentration and death camp phenomenon appears in the mirror of history as a bloody and grotesque doppleganger (ghostly, nightmarish counterpart) once set forth as a final solution to this very same question now before us in its present life or death formulation. The owners of the means of production under capitalism within the Nazi Third Reich would pay for the cost of sustaining concentration camp labor if, and only if, such labor was producing profit and/or war materials with maximum capitalist efficiency. Otherwise, the death camp awaited.

What we see today is a modern variation of the Nazi final solution unfolding under multinational monopoly capitalism. The prospect of death and suffering (with extreme prejudice) increasingly awaits those members of the working class who cannot afford the price tag placed on living or dying in a given situation. The current ruling class practice of health care rationing in America with

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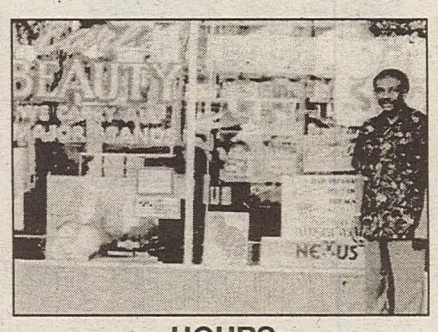

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fatal consequences for the working class provides an excellent case in point, as does the preventable deaths of 500,000 third world children annually due to cuts in health care services, with the money going instead to pay for debt service.

Proto-Nazi Germany also implemented health care rationing and so-called austerity measures against the backdrop of worldwide depression in the 1930s. This included the use of gas chambers in medical facilities to exterminate human beings deemed *lebensunwertes leben*, i.e., "life not worthy of life itself." This practice foreshadowed the use — with classic capitalist efficiency — of gas chambers in Nazi death-camps for *en masse* extermination of those considered by Nazi Germany's capitalist ruling class as *lebensunwertes leben*.

Today, America's capitalist ruling class-owned government's practice of sponsoring the preventable deaths of human beings with insufficient personal or family resources to pay the price tag on life is disguised in class genocide code phrases, such as "the right to refuse lifesaving care" and "death with dignity."

In Oregon — the state that pioneered the legalization of physician-assisted suicide — 83% of doctors think that patients decide for suicide because of financial pressures on their families, and because they can't obtain health care needed (and medically possible) to eliminate pain, disease and suffering. This effect — in so far as it is predictable — gives rise to an inference that it is planned as a *fait accompli* (foregone conclusion) of capitalist ruling class refusal to pay for lifesaving procedures for human beings deemed to be *lebensunwertes leben* based on "pocket-book triage." Multinational monopoly capitalism has transformed life and freedom from pain and disease into a commodity increasingly unaffordable to the working class. Fully 46 million Americans currently can't afford health insurance.

Surviving under multinational monopoly capitalism requires access to adequate income. Without it, one becomes a human commodity *(de facto* cash cow, generating money for government agencies and private corporations) whose existence the ruling class is willing to sacrifice. Poor and disproportionately minority children, seized by government so-called child protection or welfare agencies, generate well over 100 billion dollars a year. In California alone this figure is 25 billion dollars a year. Nationally, government agencies receive federally-funded adoption bonuses ranging from $4,000 a head to $6,000 a head, while in California, for example, government-seized children die from neglect and abuse in foster care at a rate of 150 per year.

Prisoners are also human commodities with *de facto* cash cow status. The combined markets for prison-slave labor and products, for goods and services sold to departments of correction, for products sold to prisoners and prisoner's relatives and friends (at much higher than ghetto rip-off prices) plus the interest and dividends earned by the government from depositing and investing prisoners' funds held in trust, and the salaries and benefits paid to staff of departments of correction are in the neighborhood of half a trillion dollars a year. Similarly, public benefit recipients forced to perform ultra-cheap labor for corporations who receive lucrative tax-loopholes, and homeless persons whose wages are a cot and a meal, are further examples of human commodities with *de facto* cash cow status, whose existence multinational monopoly capitalism is willing to sacrifice for a profit.

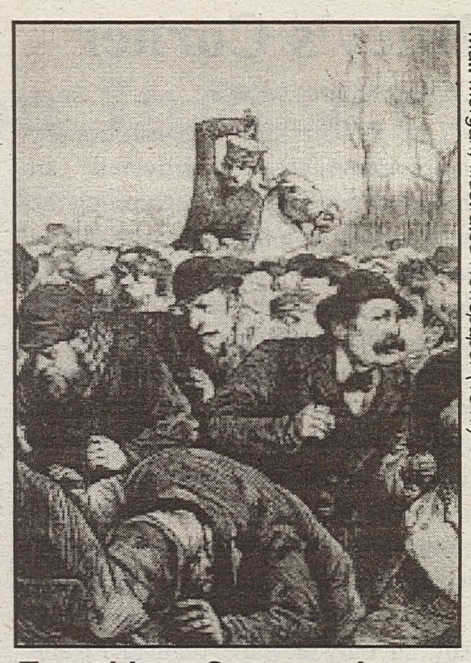
We must organize along the lines of the commonness of our class oppression as labor continually subject to poverty as wages for having built this mighty land and world!!!

The super-wealthy international monopoly bourgeoisie ruling class has divided the world's population under capitalism based on wage-prison-debt slavery into persons who represent profit as consumers or human commodities of capitalist production and persons who are not only expendable but targeted for population control measures because they represent neither. The factors of population control include income, birth rate, death rate and imprisonment rate.

The genocidal impact of an unofficial global policy of withholding the means of consumption (adequate income) by capitalist-owned-controlled governments in the face of global famines, wars and illness, which are the direct result of multinational monopoly capitalism's organization, policy and production, will decrease life expectancy among the poorer sectors of the earth's people. Zimbabwe, for example, has lost more than 25 years in life expectancy since 1990. It is predictable — hence it must be viewed as intentional — that death, suffering, imprisonment and poverty will increase among the working class without an off-setting increase in birth rate. This is exactly the policy.

Increased poverty, imprisonment, death and sickness rates in combination with decreased life expectancy will check the population growth of those who have been deemed lebensunwertes leben because they are neither consumers nor human commodities essential for capitalist profit, in the same manner that predators keep down the numbers of their prey species. This process (as described by capitalist icon Thomas Malthus) is now upon us.

With increasing sectors of our class on the brink of genocide, we the multinational working class must reject false barriers of race, religion, age, gender and whatever else keeps us divided and weak. We must organize along the lines of the commonness of our class oppression as labor continually subject to poverty as wages for having built this mighty land and world!!!



Matt Morgan, Illustrated Newspaper (1847)

Tompkins Square demonstrators for relief and job programs are met with police billy clubs, January 1874.

Book Review: Prison Industry

Continued from page 11

themselves to society if they ever were released. In California, Governor Davis denied even a chance at parole. The super-max prisons were built, filled and the keys thrown away.

These two books are useful for an understanding of the way the prison-industrial complex has followed the lead of the military-industrial complex that has ruled American society for decades. They're peas in a pod, both siphoning off billions of dollars to maintain vast bureaucracies and directorates of repression. It'll take much protest, much agitation and much political activity to tame both of these dinosaurs.

Parenti, as a start, recommends "Less policing, less incarceration, shorter sentences, less surveillance, fewer laws governing individual behaviors... Two-thirds of all people entering prison are sentenced for non-violent offenses, which means that there are literally hundreds of thousands of people in prison who pose no major threat to public safety. These minor credit card fraudsters, joy riders, pot farmers, speed freaks, prostitutes and shoplifters should not rot in prison at taxpayers' expense."

His suggestions fly in the face of the police, judges, prosecutors, drug agents, FBI, prison guards — a virtual army, patrolling all communities — whose jobs are at stake. Parenti is obviously not suggesting that those who murder, rape and transgress on other citizens should not be arrested and tried in a court of law. He is proposing that the criminal in "criminal justice" receive an injection of humanity and that true justice — not retribution — is required in the system.

What happens next? Hallinan puts it bluntly: "The level of violence and fear and degradation that permeates most prisons makes a luxury of everything but survival. But not trying is even worse. The absence of effort creates a vacuum, and the vacuum is filled by baser considerations. Profit is one. Indifference is another." Parenti says there's no telling what could happen as millions fester in their cells in racist prisons.

Hallinan also points out that "too many people are in prison for too long," under "unjustifiably harsh" sentences. "Drug possession, for instance, is now punished more severely than all crimes but murder." Every week the prison rolls grow by 1,000 new inmates, "enough to fill two brand-new prisons." This growth has to stop, Hallinan says, if changes are to be made.

Somewhere, somehow steps have to be taken to make those changes that could lead to a more humane system. These books help begin the dialogue the problem demands. Numerous groups of families of prisoners, and aware and concerned citizens, in many parts of the country have allied themselves to promote change. Prisoners themselves have been trying to break through the curtain of silence and indifference surrounding the prison industry. Do we need more Attica's, more violence in Pelican Bay, more riots at San Quentin before we wake up to the dangers of the monstrous Frankenstein we've bred for our supposed "protection"? We ourselves must answer.

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Huey's Corner

Continued from page 9

of its leadership. "Revolutionary intercommunialism" provided an important paradigm for interpreting the world, much as a belief in *laissez faire* capitalism affects actions of corporate decision makers who embrace it. Thus, to the BPP, government opposition to its existence was expected as partial confirmation of its raison d'etre. On a more personal level, the BPP leadership felt toward their ideology and its likely opponents that "truth made you a traitor as it often does in a time of scoundrels."[4]

"Revolutionary intercommunalism" not only served to pit the BPP and government law enforcement agencies against each other in ideological struggle, but also gave the Party a perhaps unexpected asset in its struggle for survival. The popular conception of ideology, especially one embracing terminology that seems foreign to traditional democratic politics, is that it is rigid and doctrinaire. Yet to the BPP leadership, its ideology, despite the sound of dogma it may have conveyed to others, served it as a pragmatic methodology for interpreting events. A central tenet of revolutionary intercommunalism, for example, is that "contradiction is the ruling principle of the universe," that everything is in a constant state of transformation. Recognition of these principles gave Party leaders an ability to grow through a self-criticism that many other radical political organizations seemed to lack. Thus, in 1970, Newton could say of the Party:

"In 1966 we called our Party a Black Nationalist Party (BNP). We called ourselves Black Nationalists because we thought that nationalism was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing conditions a little more, we found that it was impractical and even contradictory. Therefore we went to a high level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and therefore we had to unite with the peoples of the world. So we called ourselves Internationalists… We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world. But then what happened? We found that because everything is in a constant state of transformation, because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media… and because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, nations could not exist, for they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Their self-determination, economic determination, and cultural determination has been transformed by the imperialists and the ruling circle. They were no longer nations. We found that in order to be Internationalists we had to be also Nationalists, or at least acknowledge nationhood. Internationalism… means the interrelationship among a group of nations. But since no nations exist, and since the United States is in fact an empire, it is impossible for us to be Internationalists. These transformations and phenomena require us to call ourselves "intercommunalists" because nations have been transformed into communities of the world. The Black Panther Party now disclaims internationalism and supports intercommunalism."

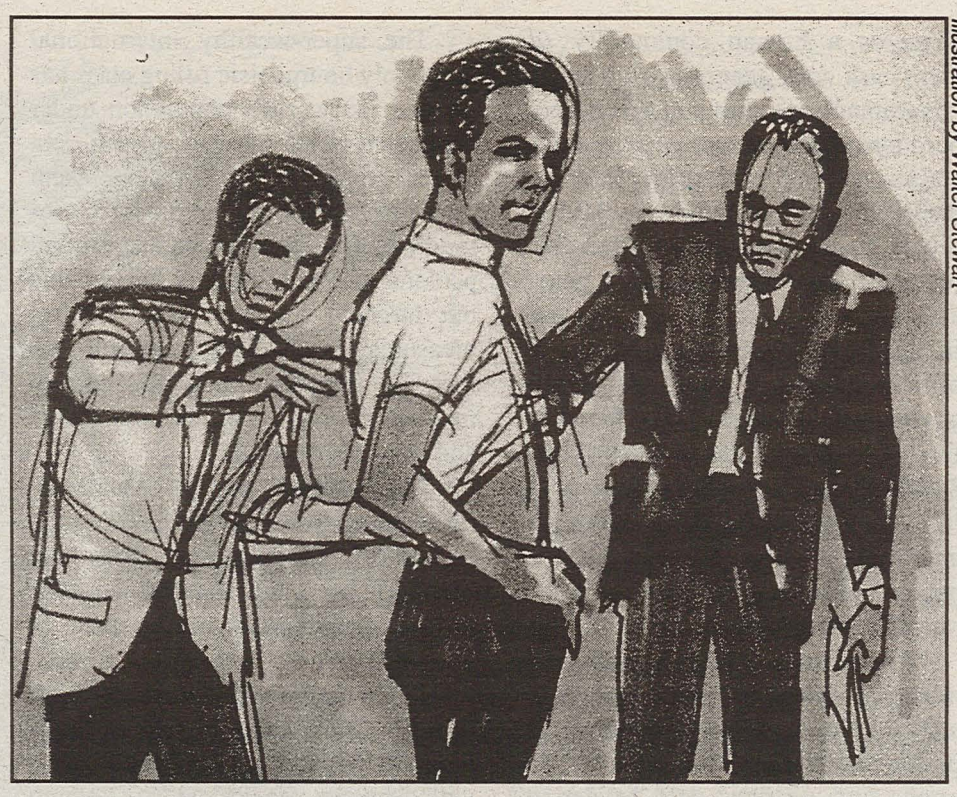

Illustration by Walter Stewart

Oakland, CA 1968: The famous political trial of Huey P. Newton. From Left: Dr. Finch examines Huey P. Newton's wound, while defense attorney Charles Garry points out to the jury where the police's bullet entered Newton's abdomen.

"When BPP members went with Denzil Dowell's family to the sheriff of Contra Costa County to complain about the shooting, they were advised to go to the State Capitol in Sacramento and get the law changed that permitted officers to shoot at suspects fleeing the scene of a felony."

B. Strategy for Building Community Institutions: The Survival Programs

A second distinguishing characteristic of the Party has been its specific strategy to achieve "revolutionary intercommunalism": the building of "survival" or community service programs.[6] The purposes of these programs are to enable people to meet their daily needs by developing positive institutions within their communities and to organize the communities politically around these programs. This, of course, is nothing new when one thinks of certain minority or ethnic communities in the United States, such as the Jews or Chinese. Historically, one way these groups have effected their rise from deprivation is by developing communal associations, ranging from fraternal and religious bodies to political machines. The function of these community associations or institutions has been described by Cloward and Piven as:

Provid[ing] a base from which a covert ethnic solidarity into the political force required to overcome various forms of class inequality. They are therefore an important device by which the legitimate interests of particular groups are put forward to compete with those of other groups.[7]

Unfortunately, as Cloward and Piven concede, "the Black community"— and this was especially true in 1966 when the Party was forming — "lack[ed] an institutional framework in private social welfare [as well as in other institutional areas], and the separatist agencies of other ethnic and religious communities [were] not eager to see this deficiency overcome . . . . ."[8] Hence the BPP emphasized the importance of its "survival programs."

The Police Patrols

An early survival program focused on the issue of police brutality, which was a major concern nationally and in Oakland, California. Applying knowledge of California law, Party founders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale organized police patrols to respond to arrests of citizens that were regularly broadcast over the police's shortwave radio.

Several Party members equipped with a shortwave radio in a car intercepted the calls, rushed to the scene of the arrest, and, armed with a law book, informed the person being arrested of his constitutional rights. Party members also carried loaded weapons, publicly displayed but not pointed toward anyone, and dressed in leather jackets and berets. The patrol participants were careful to stand no closer than ten feet from the arrest, to stay within the presumption that they were not interfering with the arrest.[9] These initial contacts between Panther patrols and Oakland police resulted in the arrests of Party members and considerable publicity.[10] Media portrayals of these confrontations gave the impression that the Panthers were primarily an armed insurrectionary group.

One of the reasons for this distorted image was astutely noted by Erik Erikson:

You all have seen the now traditional picture of young Huey Newton like a latter day American revolutionary with a gun in his hands, held not threateningly, but safely pointing upward. To a man of my age, it was, not too long ago, almost impossible to imagine black men carrying guns openly—black vigilantes, black nightriders in automobiles, keeping an eye on (of all things) the law. Most readers of the news, of course, did not and do not know that according to California law, every citizen then had the right to carry a gun, one gun for self-defense and joint defense. But those who created that law certainly did not envisage anybody but white men doing so, nor did they envisage anybody but potential lawbreakers as the ones to be patrolled by vigilant citizens in an ill-defined and frontier territory....[What the BPP did] was to show how the black man's territory has never outlived the frontier state and is still the land of undefined laws; and that arbitrary violence in this territory often comes not from roving outlaws but from those charged with the enforcement of the law. Inclined to disregard the rights of black citizens, they break the law under the guise of defending it. [The BPP] made the police, then, the symbol of uniformed and armed lawlessness. But [it] did so by ingeniously turning the white man's own imagery (especially dear to the American West and the Western) around against the white world itself. And in arming [themselves] and [their] brothers against that world, [the BPP] emphasized a disciplined adherence to existing law. In fact, [the BPP] patrol member traveled equipped not only with a gun but also a law book. The book and the fire—it cannot escape us—what an elemental pair of symbols this has been in revolts as far removed from each other as that of the Germans in Luther's day and that of the Zionists in our own.[11]

The image of Blacks armed for self-defense against police brutality

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Student Victory

Continued from page 1

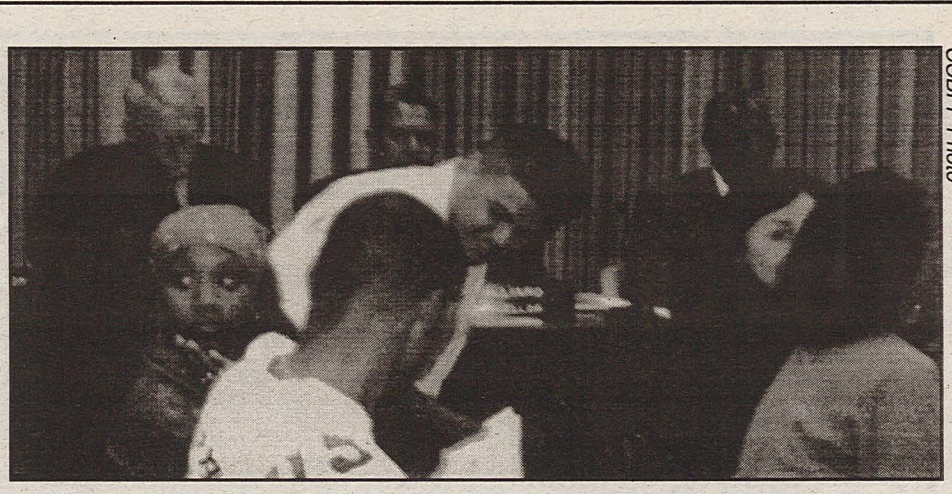
the community for the revolutionary actions of the Party. As one part of the campaign to destroy the revolution and to destroy the BPP, the Peralta College District which oversees Merritt College decided to move the campus into the Oakland hills, far away from the revolutionary masses, a very long bus ride away for ordinary working people.

They have attempted to whitewash the legacy of the revolutionary organizing that developed in its environs. When a young African American Merritt College student, Douglas Corbin, came for an orientation meeting at the CCBPP, he had heard of the BPP and Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, but he had no idea that some of their earliest revolutionary activities had taken place at Merritt College. Subsequently, Doug was elected Merritt College Black Student Union President and the following year he became Student Body President. At that time he began a campaign to commemorate the most accomplished and famous alumni of Merritt College by naming the Student Lounge after them.

It almost didn't happen. On July 26, 2001, *The Commemorator* editor Melvin Dickson interviewed Doug about the background, obstacles and victories of the successful campaign.

COMMEMORATOR: How did you become involved with the campaign to rename the student lounge at Merritt College?

DC: It actually, goes back to my days here at *The Commemorator*. I read Huey's *Revolutionary Suicide* and saw how Merritt College was relevant to the Black Panther Party history. I thought the campus should commemorate the contribution of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, founders of the Black Panther Party. They were also instrumental in organizing the Black Studies program. Two years ago I was elected as the Black Student Union President [at Merritt]. Nobody knew anything about the Black Panther Party, so I thought it was my opportunity to educate. I took a campus poll amongst [400] students to see how many of them knew that Huey Newton and Bobby Seale were alumni and thought that it was relevant to commemorate them somewhere on campus. Pretty much all of them were in support of that.



CCBPP Photo

Alisa Garrett and other City College Students present student issues including renaming Merritt College Lounge, March 2001.

[In 2000] I ran for Student Body President and Student Trustee and won. I was pushing all these other issues that affected students in general. One of my former BSU members asked me, 'Well Doug, what's up with the Huey Newton/Bobby Seale thing? You might as well try to finish that too while you're here getting everything else done.' And I was like, 'Yeah, I do need to finish that.'

As one part of the campaign to destroy the revolution and to destroy the BPP, the Peralta College District which oversees Merritt College decided to move the campus into the Oakland Hills, far away from the revolutionary masses, a very long bus ride away for ordinary working people.

I brought it up to the Student Campus Government and they supported it. It was the next step from there. We notified the College President and started taking the appropriate means and actions, trying to come up with the idea of how to recognize [Huey P. Newton/Bobby Seale]. Was it going to be a plaque, how much was the plaque going to cost and all of that type of stuff. [While I was] Student Trustee we had made up a calendar for Black History Month. Through all of December and January we were notifying everybody that needed to be notified that we were going to do this, to see if they had any questions, and objections, any problems. Nobody said anything.

COMMEMORATOR: So you went through each administrative level.

DC: Right. I talked to the College President, the Chancellor, the trustee members about it. I talked to the other students about it to see if they were OK about it:, white students, black students, Latino students…all of them. Nobody had any objections at all. I had a good working relationship with a lot of the students throughout the district. We worked on political campaigns together and student issues campaigns together, so I had a cadre of students that were willing to work on anything that was beneficial.

[When] I asked the Chancellor about letting the lounge be named he said that he didn't have any problem with it and he was willing to support it; do whatever he had to do to make sure it happened. And so at the time that the problems started to arise he was out of town. I think it was a breakdown of communication. [The Chancellor] struck this deal with the students, but he didn't notify his other Board Members of what was going on. He was out of town and they were trying to uphold this conservative-educational stance against the students. [The Commemoration] was actually everything that he told us that we could do; [the Board Members] didn't believe us.

Three weeks prior [to the Commemoration] the Board of Trustees says they're developing this new policy on naming buildings and rooms after individuals. They never told us that we were going to have to postpone the program, they just said they were developing this new policy and it was going to take 60 – 90 days before it was finalized and approved. Now there were already rooms, buildings, spaces, and classrooms named after other people throughout the Peralta District. At Laney College they have the Irma P. Walker Student Lounge, and an art gallery named after June Steingard. We already knew we weren't going to be setting a precedent naming a room after somebody.

The day when the actual event was to go through we had already purchased the plaques and the Student Body Government had finalized all of the arrangements. On the day we were supposed to have the event [the Board Members] tell us that we can't have [the event]. Four hours prior to the actual celebration. The reason they give is we have to wait on this new policy being developed and 'didn't understand that at the meeting that you guys were going to have to wait.' We were like, 'No. We were already told that we could do that by the Chancellor, what are you guys talking about?'

The weekend prior to the Commemoration we had a College Black Caucus Conference in our district where students [came] from all over the State of California for Black History Month and to have a congregational conference. We showed the plaque. That was the first time it had been shown to anybody. It was set up in the lounge where it was going to go. The chair of the Board of Trustees, Alana Clifton, and some of the other Trustees came up there and saw the plaque. They didn't like what it said; they didn't like that we were trying to name the lounge after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. We had just got this 9-foot painting of Huey Newton in the wicker chair in the lounge. Alana Clifton saw the picture and was in utter disgust. But she didn't really say anything to me about it, she told other people. On Tuesday, when we found out we couldn't do it , we knew directly who had stopped it. My friend Marvin Sadler, who had done quite a bit of work on this project a lot, were hell'a'pissed off. It was like, 'We going to get them back, we're going to get'em.' I talked to David Hilliard about it and he was like, 'Man, you do need to get them back, you do need to get them back.'

We decided to take the story to the media. We contacted the *Oakland Tribune* and a couple of other newspapers. The *Oakland Tribune* covered the initial story with a picture, pointing out

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Bobby Hutton Literacy Program

Continued from page 1

"One of the things that first attracted me to the BPP was the Survival Programs that were linked to and part of the broader revolutionary struggle," said Melvin Dickson, CCBPP chairman, a BPP member from 1969 until 1982, when Dr. Huey P. Newton officially disbanded the Party. "The BPP's Oakland Community Learning Center not only provided technical education and political education to hundreds of young people but provided three meals a day — a free-of-charge nutritional program. When some of Li'l Bobby's family members approached me asking how we could honor our fallen comrade, I proposed the Literacy Campaign to the CCBPP Staff, and we decided to add this to our program. "The methodology of the program is based on the BPP method of 'each one teach one.' I know that many people got an education through the BPP education system. I am asking each one of them as well as anyone else interested to contact us and sign up for the program," said Dickson.

Li'l Bobby Led the Way

Li'l Bobby Hutton was murdered by a hail of bullets fired by Oakland policemen when he was 17 while organizing to eradicate poverty in a low-income neighborhood of Oakland. Li'l Bobby Hutton taught himself to read, despite the failure of the Oakland public school system to teach him to read, much as today's public schools fail millions of poor and minority youth in inner city neighborhoods throughout the country. Tax-dollars, which are collected in higher proportion from low-income people than from the wealthy, are prioritized by the government for building prisons and making war against other low-income communities, over building more and better schools, creating jobs at livable wages or meeting other basic needs of the people.

In the 1960s, Li'l Bobby joined the Black Panther Party, at the tender age of 15, because he was inspired by the Party's Ten Point Program, which outlined measures to eliminate poverty and racial discrimination. Li'l Bobby taught himself to read because he understood its necessity to become a revolutionary — to understand not only the forces and conditions that shaped his situation, but also to enable him to act on his beliefs that he could thereby help to eliminate class-based discrimination. Reading also aided him in his duties as the first Black Panther Party Treasurer and the first BPP member.

Illiteracy in Oakland's Low-Income Community

In Oakland, California today, more than 50% of black students scored below the 49th percentile group while more than 90% of white students scored above the 75th percentile, according to Spring 2001 SAT scores. The high rate of illiteracy, among English-speaking adults, is concentrated among Black students in Oakland, and these students reflect their communities. A recent study compiled by the Literacy Volunteers of America and the Laubauch Literacy Action revealed that the illiteracy rate among Oakland's current population of 399,484 people, 80 to 85 thousand English-speaking adults are unable to read and comprehend at a 9th grade level, or write a moderately complex paragraph. "The issue of illiteracy is not just an Oakland problem but also a national disgrace. That is why we have launched the Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign," stated CCBPP chairman Melvin Dickson at a CCBPP staff meeting November 3rd.

CCBPP Volunteers Collect Data on Education System

Kia Hayes, *Commemorator* volunteer, was one of the first to sign-up as a volunteer tutor for CCBPP's Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign. A native of Philadelphia and recent arrival to the Bay Area as a graduate student in literature and creative writing at San Francisco State, Kia was familiar with illiteracy in low-income Philadelphia. In order to learn more about the situation in Oakland, Kia interviewed local teachers and students in Oakland high schools.

One of the first teachers she met and talked with was Laura Flaxman, a former assistant principal of Oakland's Fremont High School and current principal of Life Academy (an experimental High School of the Oakland Unified School District that just opened this year in East Oakland). Flaxman was frustrated with the lack of resources available to dedicated teachers in the Oakland School System. "There are very few kids that are University of California ready.

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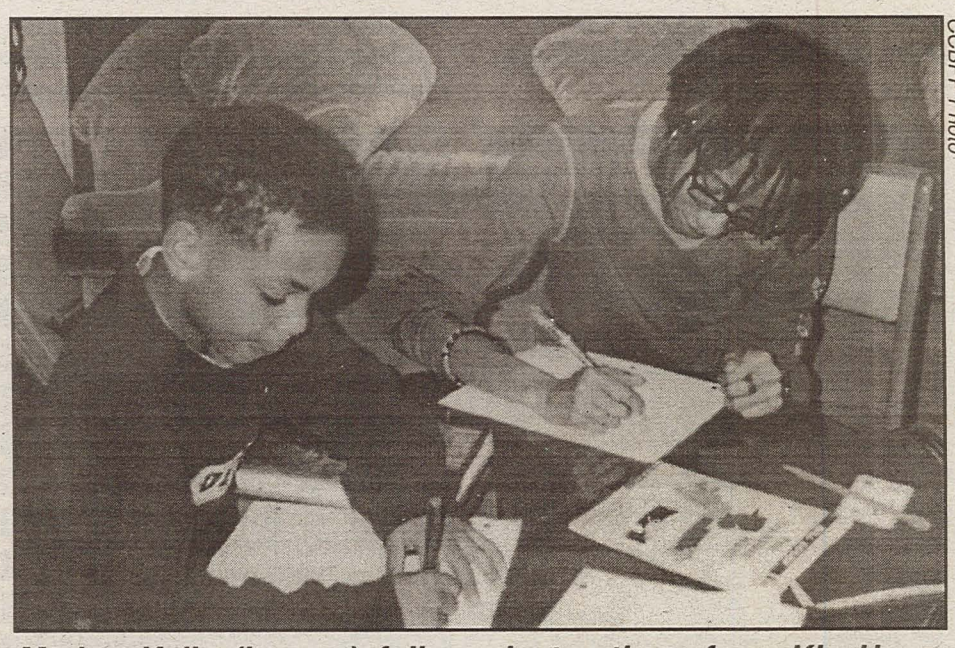
High Illiteracy Rate, Poverty, and Incarceration

- *High illiteracy rates, up 80 percent, are found among juveniles who end up in U.S. courts. "Education vs. incarceration is a stacked deck," according to* Berkeley Prison Activist Resource Center, *which reports that:*
- Spending on kindergarten to 12-grade education rose 33.4%, while spending on incarceration rose 571.4%.
- The number of K-12 schools rose 2.6%. The lock-up rate rose nearly 200%, according to a recent survey by *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics*.
- The United States ranks last among industrialized nations in literacy rates, according to *Literacy Volunteers of America* and the *Laubach Literacy Action.*
- 80% of all juveniles who appear in U.S. courts are functionally illiterate.
- 75% of unemployed adults have difficulty reading and writing.
- 99% of all workers need to read something on the job. They read an average of 113 minutes each day.
- An estimated one-half of all Americans cannot fill out a job application.
- Estimates put the annual cost of illiteracy at $225 billion in lost productivity, tax revenues, welfare, crime, and poverty.



CCBPP Photo

Marlon Kelly (learner) follows instructions from Kia Hayes (tutor) during a session at CCBPP's activity day in South Berkeley, California.

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CCBPP Photo

Childhood friends, Artrix Robertson and Ida McCray, warmly greet one another at Warren Wells' funeral, July 9th in San Francisco's Bay View Mortuary.

Captain Wells

Continued from page 4

of the outside community, they forced the warden and state to negotiate and succumb to their demands leading to the passage of SB 41 (to end indeterminate sentencing) and SB 52 (to end the death penalty). Many involved in the fight say Wells, as the chief negotiator and liaison to the Black Panther Party which organized several young lawyers to back him, held the greatest responsibility for the victory. This was also a time when politically active prisoners (BPP members) were being constantly transferred from prison to prison from "adjustment center" to "adjustment center" and were organizing each place they went so that when the strike occurred prisoners throughout the state knew about it and were inspired by the San Quentin victories to organize their own grievance committees and BPP organizations in California and nationwide, reaching as far as Louisiana's Angola State Prison and New York State's Attica Correctional Facility.

Ida McCray Robinson, a childhood friend of Warren's who also committed her life to the principles of the Black Panther Party, said, "I learned from Warren how important the Black Panther Party was, how love of people could be translated into a political context, how real men treat women, and how to fearlessly soar like an eagle, i.e., take it to the max … After 40 years, Warren knew what was important — that our responsibility was first to our families, to take care of them and to take care of our people, especially our youth. I loved Warren; I loved his spirit. He never became complacent although he had been locked up most of his life."

Captain Wells is survived by his widow Beverly Wells, his only son, Warren Wells, Jr., his mother Marguerite Wells, his two sisters, Patricia Ann Caracter and Donetta Ingram, a host of nieces and nephews, friends and comrades he has known a lifetime and all those who will carry on his spirit in their struggles.

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Huey's Corner

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catapulted the Party nationally into the public consciousness and gave an erroneous impression that it advocated armed confrontation. Ironically, however, the single event most responsible for projecting this violent image was itself a pristine case of a group legally petitioning the government for redress of grievances.

The BPP learned in April 1967 of the shooting by Richmond, California police of Denzil Dowell, a twenty-two year old Black. Official police accounts claim that the youth was running from the police after they had flagged him down in a stolen car. He reportedly jumped one fence, ran across an automobile junkyard, and was about to jump another fence when an officer shot him. No one claimed that Denzil Dowell was armed. Since he was shot while in the commission of a felony, the police claimed that it was justifiable homicide. But the police account suffered from factual inconsistencies. The victim suffered a hip injury which made him an unlikely fence-jumper. Moreover, no oil or debris was found on his shoes or clothes which, had he really run through the automobile junkyard near where he was found would almost certainly have been present. Finally, several people had witnessed previous threats made by the police to Denzil Dowell, who was apparently viewed by some Richmond law enforcement personnel as a troublemaker.

When BPP members went with Denzil Dowell's family to the sheriff of Contra Costa County to complain about the shooting, they were advised to go to the State Capitol in Sacramento and get the law changed that permitted officers to shoot at suspects fleeing the scene of a felony. Party leaders saw this "buck passing" as further confirmation of their belief that armed citizen patrols of the police, and the arming of the citizenry as guaranteed by the Constitution, were the most effective deterrents to excessive use of police force.[12]

Soon after the shooting of Denzil Dowell, an East Bay legislator, Don Mulford gave the BPP another reason to carry their grievances to the State Capitol. Mulford introduced a bill to repeal the law that permitted citizens to carry loaded weapons in public places so long as the weapons were openly displayed.[13] Obviously, the law Mulford sought to repeal was integral to the BPP's police patrols, which was why it was tagged the "Panther bill" in numerous media reports. Passage of Mulford's bill, which the Panthers viewed as almost certain, would make it a crime for a citizen, not otherwise licensed, to carry a loaded weapon in a public place, whether openly displayed or concealed.

In response to the introduction of this legislation, the BPP sent a delegation to the Capitol to protest this attempted disarming of the citizenry. The delegation carried loaded rifles and shotguns which they publicly displayed. They entered the State Capitol, a "public place," to make their protest by delivering Executive Mandate No.1.[14]

The legislature responded to this protest by promptly passing the law which was signed by Governor Ronald Reagan. But the gathering of armed Black men on the Capitol steps was photographed and published in newspapers and on television throughout the nation. These photographic representations served as a stimulus for party popularity and growth amongst young Blacks, hostility by the government, and fear by much of the white citizenry recently racked by a series of Black urban "riots."

What never became clear to the public, largely because it was always de-emphasized in the media,[15] was that the armed self-defense program of the Party was just one form of what Party leaders viewed as self-defense against oppression. The Party had always urged self-defense against poor medical care, unemployment, slum housing, underrepresentation in the political process, and other social ills that poor and oppressed people suffer.[16] The Panther means for implementing its concept of self-defense was its various "survival programs," symbolized best by the police patrols and the free breakfast program for school children. In addition to these programs, however, the Party early initiated health clinics providing free medical and dental services, a busing program to take relatives of prisoners on visiting days, and an escort and transportation service for residents of senior citizen housing projects, as well as a clothing and shoe program to provide for more of the needs of the local community. It was these broad-based programs, including the free food programs where thousands of bags of groceries were given away to the poor citizens of the community, that gave the party great appeal to poor and Black people throughout the country.[17] For one of the first times since the organized slave rebellions before the Civil War, Blacks were responding to an organization that tried to build community institutions and did so under the banner of a political ideology that directly challenged democratic capitalism.

1. See e.g., Reston, "The Shame of the Cities,"

New York Times, *24 July 1966, p. 10E, col. 5.*

2. E.g., Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968; — California Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, "Violence in the City — End or Beginning,*"1965.*

3. Huey P. Newton, To Die for the People *(New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 25-26. See also Appendix C.*

4. Lillian Hellman, Scoundrel Time *(New York: Bantam Press, 1977), p.82.*

5. Newton, To Die for the People, *pp. 31-32.*

6. At a seminar at Yale University in 1971, Newton was asked by a student, "What {do} you do to relate to people on the human level, how {do} you set yourselves up as examples as the kind of thing you are talking about, I mean, what do you actually do?" He answered that the Party has "a series of survival programs—survival until the people become more self-conscious and mature . . . These programs are

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Letters

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and the man's going to take your tooth. You're going to fight him when he starts pulling. So he squirts some stuff in your jaw called Novocain to make you think they're not doing anything to you. So you sit there and because you've got all that Novocain in your jaw, you suffer… peacefully."

That is exactly the disposition these inmates are in inside of East Dorm and countless other sweatshops across the country's prison facilities. The TV's and canteen and special purchases of orders such as tennis shoes, jeans, tapes, radios, etc. are East Dorm's Novocain. All the while the entire set up is designed to make sure that the little money that is made is given right back to the same exploitive system, and millions of dollars are being made off the inmates' hard labor. It's nothing less than slavery.

It's all perfectly legal. Just take a look in the Constitution of the United States. Amendment XIII, Section 1 states: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall be duly convicted, shall exist within the U.S., or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Oh, yes, we prisoners are slaves — slaves to a corrupted and unjust system of exploitation.

One question arises, though. Why no mass public outcry against this injustice? According to the social psychologist Leon Festinger, as pointed out in James W. Loewen's book, "Lies My Teacher Told Me," there is a condition known as "cognitive dissonance" which is a process of "modifying one's opinions to bring them in line with one's own actions." In other words, it's like saying, "Well, they're prisoners, they're bad people. It's OK to exploit them. In fact, it's only right if we do." The same mentality was used to justify the African slave trade.

Some prisons have *gone* so far to even sell their clothing commercially. The San Quentin State Prison has a clothing line called "San Quentin Clothing" that has been advertised in major publications such as Playboy magazine. The style of clothing — Hip Hop. The sub-culture of today's youth. Can you picture your teenage child wearing prison clothes that were made in prisons? It's as if they're getting the youth ready before they even come into the system. Maybe it's to make it that much easier to bring them into the system by a process of desensitization.

This is the reality of Amerika's prison system. A system that makes slaves out of people, a huge slave system that stretches across the entire country. Soledad's East Dorm is a part of that slave system. It's a money making machine right at the heart of Amerika, bleeding the hearts of its lower class communities. And not only do some people stand for it, some will fight for it.

In Struggle,
Anthony Soweto Velarde K77580
P.O. Box 689 ED 44up
Soledad, CA 93960

Our Reward

Dear Editor

OUR REWARD for building this country: brainwash education, mental slavery, brutality and hatred; yet we move forward in this generation triumphantly. The reason being, we as a people were made strong by the hands of the Almighty. The proof is the continued existence of our people. To date there has been no other race of people for whom the suffering has been so immense. The hundreds of years of brutality, oppression, depression, exploitation, and to some degree genocide, has left our people an extremely difficult path towards freedom; not to mention disunity and bewilderment as to the correct solution instead of selling out or buying in (in other words: go along to get along). This, however, is where our strength, our power to resist attack must be exercised.

Case in point, **MENTAL SLAVERY**; we need to emancipate ourselves from this form of slavery. None but ourselves can free our minds. We no doubt possess the power to accomplish this. **BRAINWASH EDUCATION**; this form of education which focuses on individuals the likes of Columbus, the famous discoverer; Thomas Jefferson, the founder of scientific racism, which served as a model for both the genocidal South African apartheid and German Nazi states; John Adams, who opposed abolition of slavery and forecast a genocide as the final solution to the Indian problem; Benjamin Franklin, who held views such as, "why increase the sons of Africa by planting them in America"; Ulysses Grant, who called for the expulsion of Jews from the South (Civil War Order No. 11, the most overtly anti-Semitic document in American history); Abraham Lincoln, who believed blacks unequal to whites in moral and intellectual endowment.

BRUTALITY; mothers, sisters, wives all faced sex crimes, including rape, the moment the slave ship set sail. This process continued through slavery; lynching became synonymous with our condition from the moment our people arrived. They were public events attended by the town's leading citizens. They were almost a sport attended by the entire family. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two or three black people were hung or burned every week. This included women as well as men. Then there was Rosewood, Florida; Tulsa, Oklahoma, to name a few atrocities. Our people have been a target of law enforcement departments from the moment the slave ship arrived. Whether it was/is voting, civil rights, equal justice, equal education, etc., the end result was/is always the same: brutality. Judging from recent headlines, the struggle still exists!

HATRED; the form of brutality described above, though a small fraction of reality, reveals indescribable hate, a hate that continues to penetrate the mask. Nevertheless, someone will have to pay for the innocent blood that's shed every day. Reality is the hatred of our black skin. In the words of one designated a great prophet:

[U]ntil the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned, until there are no longer first-class and second-class citizens of any nation, until the color of a man's skin is of no more significance than the color of his eyes, until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race, until that day the dream of lasting peace will remain but a fleeting illusion to be pursued, but never attained.—Bob Marley

Greg D.

Norfolk, MA

Huey's Corner

Continued from page 17

open to everyone in the community. We have health clinics; we have a bussing program for parents and relatives and friends of prisoners who would not be able to visit the prison . . . because they do not have the money . . . We know they won't solve the problem. But because we are interested in the people, we serve the people." (Erik H. Erickson and Huey P. Newton, In Search of Common Ground {New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973}, pp. 87-88.) The Party's platform and program, originally adopted in 1966 and amended in 1976, are reprinted in Appendices A and B.

7. Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, The Politics of Turmoil *(New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 195.*

8. Ibid.

9. Huey P. Newton, Revolutionary Suicide *(New York): Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973], pp. 120-121.*

10. Ibid.

11. Erikson and Newton, In Search of Common Ground, *pp.45-46.*

12. A detailed account of this incident is found in the chapter entitled "Denzil Dowell," *in Newton,* Revolutionary Suicide, *pp. 137 - 144.*

13. California Penal Code, Sections 12031 and 171.c.

14. The full text of Executive Mandate No. 1 *is found in Newton, To* Die for the People, *pp. 7-8.*

15. To be sure, the media was often assisted in emphasizing the violent image of the Party by the FBI and other federal agencies. See chapter IV.

16. Affidavit of Huey P. Newton, filed in Black Panther Party v. Donald C. Alexander, Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, No. C-74-1247, U.S. Fed. Ct. (N.D. Cal. 1974).

17. Newton, Revolutionary Suicide, *pp. 163-170.*

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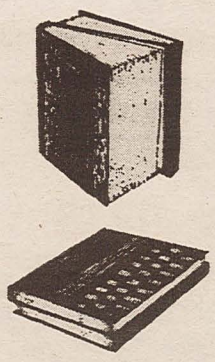
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Student Victory

Continued from page 15

about Merritt students were not allowed to name the lounge after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. We developed this coalition, the Coalition for Student Power and Shared Government that consisted of quite a few diverse students groups. We had meetings.

Our first meeting was basically to set a date for our Rebel Ceremony. Since they weren't going to allow us to have a ceremony we were going to have a rebel one, where the students officially named the lounge after Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. We were still going to have it [on the originally scheduled day] when they told us that we couldn't do it, but they had hid our plaques from us. That day that we had the College Black Caucus Conference we asked the janitor to put the plaques up for us. When Tuesday came and we tried to get the plaques well the janitor told us, 'I can't give them to you guys.'

We set the day for our Rebel Ceremony for the following Monday. We received so much media coverage and so much community support; we knew we had hit home on this one. When we had the Rebel Ceremony, more people showed up for the Rebel Ceremony than the initial one that we had planned. We had the *San Jose Mercury*, the *Oakland Tribune*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. They didn't even want to cover the story before it became such a controversial issue.

The Friday before the ceremony, the college President and the college Administration were so scared after reading the article in the *Oakland Tribune* and they wanted to know what was going on, because we had just totally broke off communication with them and were doing this totally on our own, just straight students, nobody else. The Administration complained, 'You guys went to the media, you made us look bad, we see that you guys are going to have this Rebel Ceremony without us, how are you guys going to do that? You guys can't do that.' 'We are doing it. How are you going to stop us? We've already gone to the media. I wish you try to stop this now.' So they were like, 'You guys can't hang up the plaques that you guys bought at first, we going to buy you guys some new plaques and we're going to sit here and come up with this new naming or whatever this plaque's going to say.' Because the plaques initially said that the lounge was being dedicated in honor of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, former alumni of Merritt College, this is to recognize their contributions, firstly for developing the Soul Students Advisory Council, which was a precursor to the first Black Student Union, and also their contributions towards the Black human liberation struggle.

We had a little Panther emblem on the plaque, but it didn't say anything about the Black Panthers. Their whole argument was, 'You guys are trying to recognize the Black Panthers.' [We responded] 'No we're not, we're trying to recognize Huey Newton and Bobby Seale.' They were trying to get us to rewrite our plaques, trying to help us to come up with what the plaques were going to say and we were saying, "No. No. No." They interrogated us about three hours during school time. Finally, they said, "OK. You guys can write whatever you want on the plaque," because I had already made up my mind that we would use our initial plaque.

During the ceremony, we had two of our brothers protecting the plaque, just in case they had somebody trying to snatch the plaque during our ceremony. Finally, about two minutes before the ceremony began, we were told by the Administration, "OK, we are going to let you put up your plaque."

Marvin Sadler and I had an opportunity to interview Bobby Seale a week before and had videotaped our interview. He spoke to the issue. We showed the tape during the ceremony. Melvin Newton, David Hilliard and Joshua Blume [director of the Black Panther Oral Papers project at UC Berkeley] spoke during the ceremony. I also spoke. We presented the plaques to Fredrika Newton and Melvin Newton and to a representative from Bobby Seale's family, as Bobby Seale was unable to attend.

COMMEMORATOR: Congratulations on your victory.

DC: I was talking to the BSU President at Laney College about the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign and what we are going to try to do is get BSU to work with you on that when school gets started.

COMMEMORATOR: Thank you. Like the BPP, the Commemoration Committee understands that it is important that those who are given the opportunity to pursue an education helps to advance the whole community, rather than rising from it, so we will look forward to your help.

Educational Apathy

Continued from page 2

minority and poor children are ruthlessly forced to bear the repercussions of conditions, which existed long before they were born. For too many, economic oppression and other social ills have wreaked havoc in their homes, rendering many children's first environmental and educational setting dysfunctional as well as severely disenfranchising.

To make matters even worse, through poverty-stricken streets of vice, they journey to run-down, overcrowded schools to receive instruction that is a far cry from a developing education: schools with outdated text books ...

To make matters even worse, through poverty-stricken streets of vice, they journey to run-down, overcrowded schools to receive instruction that is a far cry from a developing education: schools with outdated textbooks, if they have them at all, schools with overworked and underpaid teachers and administrators, many of whom are inexperienced in instructing often mentally-challenged youth, particularly with hand-me-down equipment. In some cases, the teachers lack the proper credentials and are allowed to instruct the children anyway, because the best teachers refuse to teach at these schools. The devastating impact of the daily futility of this uncompromising situation drives many youth to lose all interest in education.

Considering how much capital and resources are always available to criminalize and punish youth, it is safe to say they are being systematically discouraged from enthusiastically embracing education, the key to a bright and successful future. If so-called moral society authentically has an empathetic bone in its collective body, instead of sanctioning that the book of persecution be thrown at underprivileged youth with no consideration for their lack of resources and the corrupt influences surrounding them, it would sanction productive equalizing opportunities, such as up-to-date books and good teachers.

In conclusion, it is indeed very enlightening to determine the degree of civilization within a society by entering its prisons. It would be even more of an eye-opening revelation to enter a society's public schools in order to garner an understanding of why a so-called morally civilized society has so many jails and prisons in the first place.

Editor's Note: Richard Hall, a native of Philadelphia, PA, is currently incarcerated at Soledad prison. He uses his cartoons to express the political and social injustices committed against oppressed peoples. Richard provides insight to the root causes of the prison industrial complex. He was featured in The Commemorator's *June 2001, Artist Corner.*

A direct link exists between poverty and illiteracy. "If you're illiterate, people can do anything they want to you: take your house through equity scams, cheat you, lie to you, bunko you, take your money, even take your life. Illiterate people get used in diabolical experiments such as the Tuskegee Program, in which unsuspecting black males were injected with syphilis by the government," said Ishmael Reed.

For instance, in Oakland, California (a state that reflects the nation's lowest levels of literacy in the industrialized world) 85,000 adults can not read or write, not to mention what is happening on the high school campuses, such as Castlemont High, where political officials voted to use millions of tax dollars for the construction of a super jail.

Through the militant voice of The Commemorator *newspaper and its Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign, The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party is attempting to break the chains of poverty and liberate oppressed people, by giving them a key to survival: literacy.*

Join with us in building a collective future for all, one that is different from our future under the forces of exploitation and oppression, manifested in inner cities and low-income communities throughout the world where poverty run rampant and illiteracy increases. For more information as to how you can participate and how you can support this great intercommunal movement for fundamental and lasting change, call: (510) 652-7170.

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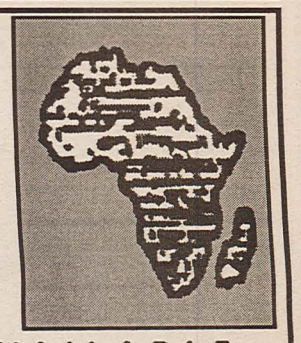


CUSTOM TAILORING AVAILABLE

Bobby Hutton Literacy Program

Continued from page 16

Students need one-on-one attention. The bigger issue is that so many kids do not graduate with basic skills. Many of the students are falling through the cracks as a result of large schools. There is a need for smaller schools and more personal attention to students," said Flaxman.

Christine West, a senior at Life Academy spent grades 9 through 11 at Fremont High School. West told *The Commemorator* that she spent three years at Fremont and that it was different from her present situation. "At Fremont High, it's a terrible thing. As long as you showed up for class, you got at least a 'C.' The teachers barely explain anything. We were given worksheets everyday. There was rat infestation. People never went to class. There were rotating subs or no teachers at all. They need to think about building more schools. They'd rather have us in jail than in school." At her present school, "The students have a lot of input and the teachers explain the work. They are my family."

Leonard Brown, a 15-year-old, who attended Oakland Tech High School as a ninth grader last year, now attends McClymonds. He says that there were not enough textbooks for students. "We had to look at other kids' books, and students did not have access to computers. They teach stuff you already know. We got homework, but we didn't get it everyday. If you miss three days of school, you get kicked out. How are kids gonna learn if you kick them out? We didn't have a library and if you wanted to borrow a book a student would have to ask the teacher. They never gave us books to take home," he said.

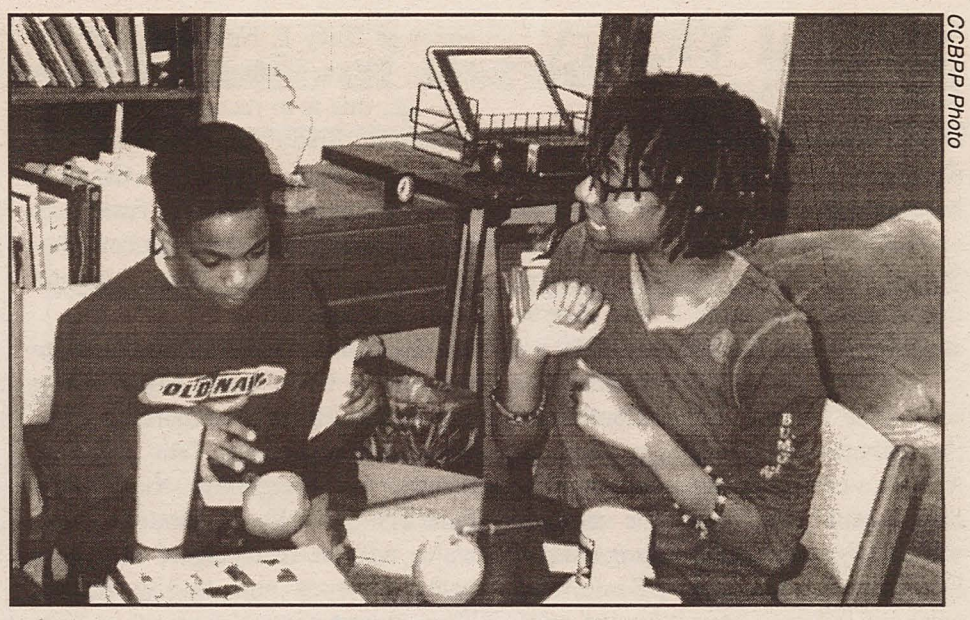
Brown believes that not being allowed to take books home makes it hard for him to learn. "We didn't do much reading. They are not paying good teachers enough money," he recounted. Brown thinks that instead of building more juvenile halls for youth, "money could be used to build better schools or used for new books, more basketball courts, more teachers."

Maurisa Thompson teaches English and social science at the Life Academy in East Oakland. She told *The Commemorator* that most of her students are transfer students from Fremont High School. "The students' literacy skills range from kids that read well to other kids that are struggling. The students who have had the most problems academically are those who, before coming to Life Academy, were taught by perpetual substitute teachers. In Oakland the lack of teachers is prevalent. Thompson points out, "Kids who need the most are getting the least. They mostly live in the Flatlands, where black and other kids of color mostly live. Well-to-do kids are mostly white and they live in the Hills. The schools in the Flatlands are larger, with fewer resources, and the schools in the hills consist of smaller schools, with lots of resources, and, of course, with higher test scores."

U.S. Supreme Court ruling of 1954: Brown v. Board of Education

The tragedy of education in Oakland is reflected in urban areas throughout the nation. The 1954 Supreme Court finding in the Brown v. Board of Education, 47 years ago, set forth that there is equal protection under the law, regardless of race, color, creed or nationality, and specifically, that "separate but equal" was inherently unequal. The Court unanimously decided that school segregation, both in the states and in the District of Columbia, violated the Constitution. Yet nearly 40 years later, a study showed, for example, the discrepancy of the amount of space in the all-white school of Wayne, New Jersey and nearby Patterson: The Wayne school "is 33 years old and holds 323 children. The school in Patterson is 60 years old and holds 615 children. The first school has 395 square feet per child, the second 87 square feet. The first school has 40,000 square feet of playing area, the second 3,000 square feet," according to Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequalities,* (*Harper Perennial*, 1992, p.165.)

"Overcrowding in New Jersey, as in Harlem and the Bronx, is a constant feature of the schools that serve the poorest children," according to Kozol. "Nevertheless, among the poor children may be a James Baldwin, or a Malcolm X." In low-income Irvington [New Jersey], for instance, where 94 percent of students are nonwhite, 11 classes in one school don't even have the luxury of classrooms. They share an auditorium in which they occupy adjacent sections of the stage and backstage area. "It's very difficult," says the music teacher, "to have concert rehearsals with the choir while ten other classes try to study in the same space." "Obviously," she says, "there is a problem with sound…" "I'm housed in a coat room," says a reading teacher at another school in Irvington." "I teach," says a music teacher, "in a storage room," *Savage Inequalities,* (Op. cit. pps.158, 159).



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Marlon Kelly, Jr. (learner) and Kia Hayes (tutor) work at word pronunciation.

Educational Crisis in Philadelphia School

The tragedy of education in Oakland is reflected in urban areas throughout the nation. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the school system grapples unsuccessfully with the problem of teaching students basic skills while lacking sufficient personnel and resources. Isis Rose, 23, a fifth and sixth grade teacher in Philadelphia, works with children throughout the Public School District. She sees students struggling to gain basic skills in the public schools. "Philadelphia is in crisis, the public schools are serving mainly Black and Latino children from working class or low income backgrounds," Rose told *The Commemorator's* Kia Hayes. "The public education is anti-learning. In these schools there are metal detectors and security guards and police presence throughout the schools. It does

Continued on page 22

Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party
VOLUNTEER ACTIVITIES

Sunday	**9 am - 10 am** Orientation	**10 am - 3 pm** Literature Table	**12 noon - 3:30 pm** Community Canvass for Li'l Bubby Hutton Literacy Campaign	**6:30 pm - 10 pm** Volunteers Phone Training Session
Monday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Campus Workup: Literature Table & Clipboarding	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orient: History & Purpose of CCBPP	**7 pm - 10 pm** Commemorator Publication Session: Writing, proofing, typing, desktop publishing
Tuesday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**10 am - 3 pm** Phone Businesses to Sponsor Commemorator	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orientation	**7 pm to 10 pm** Volunteers Phoning
Wednesday	**9 am to 10 am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Business Canvass	**5 pm to 8 pm:**(outreach) Subscription Canvass	**8 pm to 10 pm** Volunteers Class
Thursday	**9 am to 11am** (mailouts)	**11 am - 3 pm** Business Canvass	**6 pm - 7 pm** Orientation	**7 pm - 10 pm** Publication Session: Writing, proofing, desktop publishing, typing
Friday	**9am to 10am** (mailouts)	**3pm - 7pm** (outreach) Literature Table		**7:30pm to 9:30PM** Volunteer Class
Saturday	**9 am - 10 am** Orientation	**10 am - 4 pm** Publication Session: Writing, proofing, typing, desktop publishing	**12 noon -2 pm** Tutoring Session **12 noon - 4 pm** Literature Table	**4pm - 5:30pm** Weekly Staff Meeting

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AIDS in Africa: New Plague or Old Illnesses of Poverty?

Racist HIV Myth Hides Ruthless U.S. Exploitation.

Unlike in the United States, AIDS in Africa is most frequently diagnosed based on four very imprecise clinical symptoms—diarrhea, fever, persistent cough, and weight loss greater than 10% over two months. *HIV antibody tests are not required to diagnose a case of African AIDS.* These four clinical symptoms are identical to the problems created by conditions of poverty that have troubled Africa and other developing areas of the world for centuries. In fact, symptoms of the so-called African AIDS epidemic are indistinguishable from the effects of malnutrition, unsanitary drinking and bathing water, and common curable conditions like malaria, cholera, tuberculosis, and parasitic infections.

Rather than solve the problems of African poverty caused by centuries of ruthless Western exploitation, the U.S. government insists on broadcasting the doomsday notion that Africa is suddenly gripped by a deadly, spreading sexual plague. According to these American health authorities, salvation from sickness can only be found in profitable pills manufactured by the white West and exported to black Africa.

America's Racist HIV Myth

The idea that AIDS originated in Africa is a popular myth without any scientific or epidemiological evidence. News reports that blame AIDS on African green monkeys are based upon elaborate speculation about species-jumping viruses rather than reliable proof. Tall tales about the spread of AIDS are promoted through the most vulgar and racist sexual stereotypes about promiscuous African people.

Still, the numbers speak for themselves. According to the 1999 *WHO Global HIV/AIDS Report*, the total number of AIDS cases in Africa virtually equals the total number of cases in America even though Africa, with its 650 million citizens, has more than two times the population of the United States. Africa is often cited as a worst case example of what could happen in America despite figures demonstrating that 99.5% of Africans do not have AIDS, and among Africans who test HIV positive, 97% do not have AIDS.

The Truth About African AIDS:

- **HIV antibody tests are not required for an AIDS diagnosis in Africa.**
- **African AIDS is diagnosed by four very imprecise clinical symptoms:**
  - **— Diarrhea**
  - **— Fever**
  - **— Persistent cough**
  - **— Weight loss greater than 10% over two months**
- **Tuberculosis, malaria, and measles far outnumber cases of AIDS in Africa.**
- **AIDS is not the leading cause of illness or death in any African nation.**

While Africa is the frequent target of damaging AIDS media reports, the total number of cases on the continent is relatively small. For example, from 1981 through 1999 cumulative AIDS cases for South Africa, the area claimed hardest hit by HIV, were just 12,825.

Exporting Extermination: AIDS Pills Kill!

It is undeniable that experimental AIDS treatments like protease inhibitors and AZT are all highly toxic, dangerous products. Strokes, muscle wasting, anemia, physical deformities, dementia, birth defects, organ failure, and death are some of the "side effects" of these poisons. Thousands of gay men in the 1980s and 1990s died from AZT poisoning. Now the U.S. State Department has elevated AIDS to the level of a threat to national security in order to gain public support for exporting AZT to pregnant African women. Outspoken leaders like South African President Thabo Mbeki—hard pressed to explain why developing nations stricken with famine and civil chaos should spend what little money they have on toxic anti-HIV drugs while millions starve—are relentlessly attacked as unfit and crazy by racist Western media outlets.

We invite you to investigate the growing international controversy over the cause and treatment of AIDS for yourself. Clip and mail the coupon below for a free copy of the groundbreaking book *What If Everything You Thought You Knew About AIDS Was Wrong?* by AIDS survivor Christine Maggiore.

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ACT UP San Francisco is the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power—a militant, direct action organization committed to ending the AIDS fraud. General body meetings are held every Monday night at 7:30 p.m. at 1884 Market Street and our medical marijuana dispensary is open 12:00 to 7:00 p.m. Tuesday through Sunday. Get involved. Join ACT UP! End the abuse of AIDS.

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Bobby Hutton Literacy Program

Continued from page 20

not feel like a school; it feels like a prison. Students need to learn critical thinking, self-determination, survival skills and overthrow this system."

Shaka Draper, former director of Public Relations for an independent Afro-centric Children's Book Company in Philadelphia worked closely with Philadelphia Public schools for two years to promote the Young Publisher's Program and the Parent Reading Program. Draper reported that, "We are looking at a system that educates the masses to serve in menial jobs to serve the less than 1% who control 99% of the wealth. Industrial businessmen created public education to train people to work in their factories. The schools are not advocating education, just like prisons are not advocating rehabilitation. The solution is for our people to take responsibility for our children's education and the only way we can do that is by building our own schools and taking control of the curriculum."

Poor and Working Class Blacks Being Pushed Out

In the year 2001, the disparity of income in the East Bay Area is obvious, according to our data. A heavily white, Berkeley hills neighborhood, (zip code 94709) for 2000, has an average household income of $62,947, according to Percept Group, Inc. The median household income in a heavily black Flatland neighborhood of Oakland (zip code 94607) was, in 1998, $14,788, per year. Here we can safely say that the disparity of income is so great between these two neighborhoods that living conditions for many Blacks are devastating and causing massive despair.

Blacks are leaving Oakland and San Francisco because of the increased high cost of living and the flight of living-wage job opportunities. The Oakland Black population decreased by 17,005 between 1990 and 2000, while Oakland white and other non-Black racial groups have increased by 63,592.

In the 1960's, one out of five Black children went to bed hungry in the U.S. — now it is one out of three. A Black male in the U.S. has four times the likelihood of ending up in jail than a Black male in post-apartheid South Africa, according to the U.S. Census, 2000.

Militarization of Public Education

"Military charter schools, which are a growing trend, are not the answer," Dickson stated. "The public school systems in the inner cities of the United States are heading for becoming feeder plants for prisons and/or the U.S. military by channeling poor and minorities heavily in one direction of the other – an artificial 'solution' to the massive unemployment increase."

"For instance, in Oakland, as in other inner cities where poverty and incarceration rates are disproportionately high, Mayor Jerry Brown succeeded in getting approval for a military charter school where young people, often Blacks and Hispanics are taken to a boot camp away from home and put in a regimented prison-like environment."

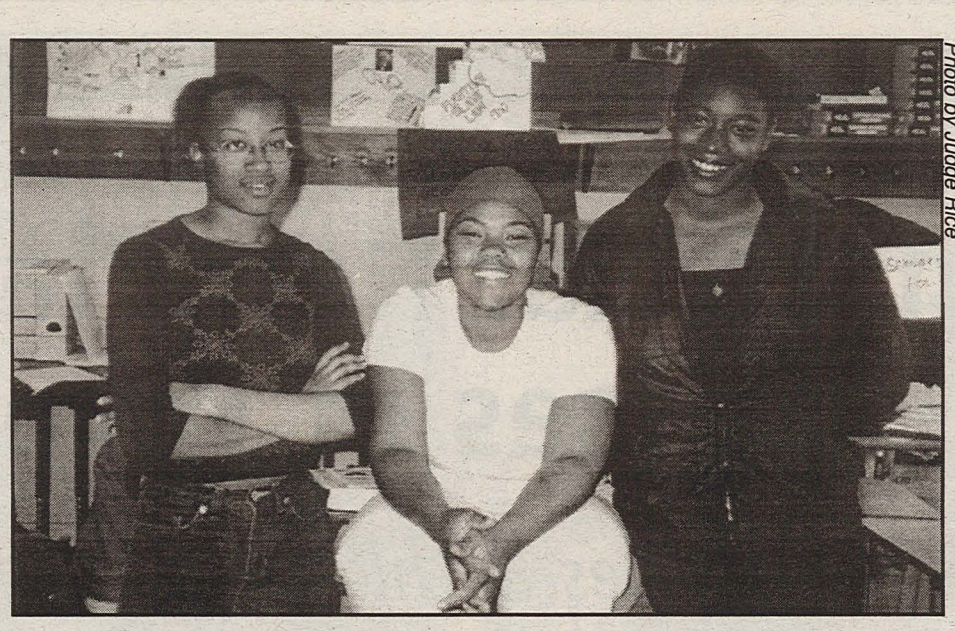

Photo by Judge Rice

Oakland Castlemont High School students (left to right) Monica Holloway, Massanda D'Johns, and Veneya Camp who are representing Y.A.C.I.N., an organization that demands school administrators and superintendents address students' complaints such as no school nurses, no money for schoolbooks and inadequate bathrooms.

Education, Jails and Money

Where public school and living wage jobs have been allowed to deteriorate, "Super-Max" prisons and prison construction, in general, has been prioritized by elected officials to receive economic benefits. Alameda County officials have voted to expand the county juvenile detention center that now houses 299 youth into a super-max facility that would house 540 youth and cost local taxpayers $33 million to rebuild and $170 million each year to run. "The Bay Area and the whole country is putting young people of color with working class backgrounds on the prison tracks," stated Fela Thomas of the Youth Force Coalition which is made up of 30 youth groups in the Bay Area.

In nearby Contra Costa County, with a smaller population than Alameda County, government officials broke ground in Martinez for its 240-bed Super Max in May. According to *The Times*, of Contra Costa, May 8, 2001 edition, "The new building will provide a safer, more secure environment for juveniles and the county employees that supervise them." According to Thomas, "That money needs to be spent on improving conditions in the inner cities schools and on making the current facility livable, but not expanding the size of the current facility. The expansion money needs to be use for something positive in the community to help keep our young people out of detention centers, jails and prisons."

Community organizer Judge Rice told *The Commemorator*, "I, along with associates, had the opportunity to meet with a student group YACIN (Youth Against Community Injustice Nia) at Castlemont High School in Oakland California. The students presented us with a list of demands to alleviate complaints that had been given to Dr. Miller, the school principal, and Superintendent Chacones prior to spring break. The complaints included that there is only one male and one female bathroom open for approximately 2,000 students during the school session; there is no medical staff (nurse) present on campus; there are [window] bars all around the school; the gates are chained and all the doors are locked; and the students cannot enter into their classrooms without student I.D. visible on their chest. There is no money for books or materials to facilitate learning, but money for large spy cameras and a huge presence of Oakland policemen and security officers, student I.D. cards and iron gates with chains. "To me this did not feel like a school for learning but a prison for punishment. If this, in fact, is what it seems to be, then it would be just to say that all 2,000 inmates (students) had been found guilty of being youthful. It would also be safe to say that since some young individuals commit crime then all must be punished for the security of the school system."

Eliminate the Root Causes

Anyone who is interested in eliminating the root causes of illiteracy, i.e., poverty, and working for what our communities really need, like living wages and health care, an end to police repression, and education that teaches about the world and how to change it, should join with the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party. Its educational campaign needs tutors and learners for the Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign and organizers, writers, copy-editors, and desktop designers for the production of *The Commemorator*. We are getting the word out to the community with our message to fight the forces of economic exploitation and oppression, in the spirit of Li'l Bobby Hutton's work with the Black Panther Party in 1966. With enough volunteers, the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign can provide, i.e., a one on one situation for the students to get full attention from the tutor.

To become a certified tutor you must sign up at the CCBPP office, receive an orientation for the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign, and complete a 16 hours tutoring training program before pairing with a learner. Once paired, the tutor/learner team will meet two hours per week. The West Oakland Library is committed to being one of the meeting sites for the Li'l Bobby Hutton Literacy Campaign. Initial commitment for tutor/learner teams is nine-months, or until the learner has learned to read. This length of time has proved to be important for it allows sufficient time for the tutor and learner team to determine in what areas the learner needs the most support, to develop their cooperative effort, and to make significant progress. The Literacy Campaign needs tutors, but in order for the campaign to succeed, the CCBPP needs organizers. Training programs are available. For more information, please call 510-652-7170.

Haiti Stands

Continued from page 11

began, took thirteen long years to achieve. Today, the weapons may be different, but we are in a similar moment of struggle, striving to realize 2004."
— Jean-Bertrand Aristide, 2000

6. The United States has long considered Haiti a threat.

Since 1804, when Haiti gained independence after the world's only successful slave revolution, the U.S. refused to recognize the new nation, and viewed Haitian freedom as a danger to the American system of slavery. Even then Haiti experienced "globalization."

In 1825, Haiti was forced to assume a 150 million franc debt to France as "reimbursement" to the former slave owners. To make the first payment, Haiti had to close all its public schools in what has been called the hemisphere's first case of "structural adjustment." Today, as Haitians attempt to create an alternative to debt, dependence and the indignity of foreign domination, the attacks continue. Haitian grassroots organizations are working for democracy, better health care, education, reforestation, justice for victims of violence, and for women to play a full role in Haitian society. In support of these goals, the new Haitian government has set forth an ambitious agenda for social investment. To achieve any of this, the Haitian people and government need political stability, some space to maneuver, and a degree of freedom from international harassment. We, here in the U.S., owe it to the Haitian people to help create that opening.

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CCBPP STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party (CCBPP) is committed to the goals of the Black Panther Party (BPP) as outlined in its Ten-Point Program which was written in 1966 by Party founders, Dr. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The Ten-Point Program outlines goals and objectives toward changing conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression in all low-income and working class communities in the U.S. and elsewhere, as the basis for unity and solidarity.

Also, the CCBPP is committed to the concept of Revolutionary Intercommunalism, introduced by Dr. Newton in 1970 at Boston College. Our Revolutionary Intercommunalism holds that there are basically two sides. On one side there is reactionary intercommunalism which presently holds the world's low-income and working communities under conditions of economic exploitation and political oppression by controlling the wealth, resources and institutions in order to maximize profits for the few. Huey identified this side as the leading reactionary side (the ruling class) which consists of a minority, fewer than five percent of the world population. Under these conditions, reactionary intercommunalism, by and large, keeps the poor and working communities on a cycle of degradation, under conditions of reaction, desperation and poverty, with no end in sight. Newton understood that in order to change these conditions and advance the economic and cultural interests of these oppressed communities of the world, disciplined organizations must be built from the bottom up, enabling these low-income and working communities to fight exploitation and oppression by any means necessary (this fight needs to start in the advanced industrialized U.S. because our nation leads the world in political reaction and economic exploitation).

CCBPP advances and upholds the goals which the BPP outlined in its Ten-Point Program, and those goals are about ridding black ghettos and low-income and working communities of economic exploitation and political oppression, understanding that we can reach these goals only by seizing the time at the point of practice.

Black Panther Party Ten-Point Program
WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions that exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE. We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all its people and give a high standard of living.

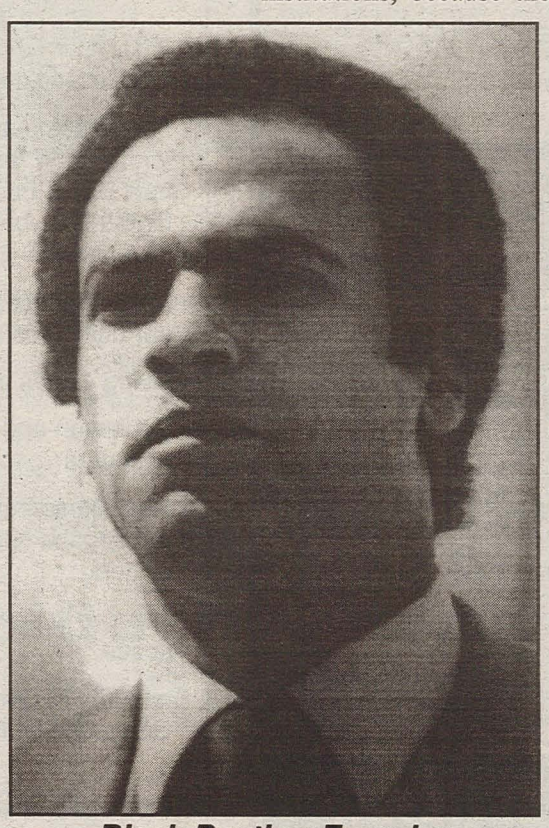
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES. We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency that will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS. We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people on our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY. We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE. We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities that will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES. We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color, and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.



Black Panther Founder, Dr. Huey P. Newton

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION. We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U. S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U. S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY, AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY. We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U. S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U. S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions that are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY. When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism. It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Mumia: 9-11

Continued from page 5

democracies in over 20 countries. It has manipulated elections in dozens of countries. It has created standing armies and directed them to fight. It has organized ethnic minorities and encouraged them to revolt in numerous volatile areas." (p. 73)

Looking at CIA activities abroad, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, this former station chief offers a conservative estimate of how many people, all over the world, "...would not have died if U.S. tax dollars had not been spent by the CIA to inflame tensions, finance covert political and military activity, and destabilize societies," and comes up with a figure of: 6,000,000. Six million people, he says, "and this is a minimum figure" (p. 81).

Are Afghan-trained rebels, from various Middle Eastern states, responsible for the carnage of 11 September, 2001? Who armed them? Who trained them? Who loosed them upon the world? Their very deadly expertise are your tax dollars at work.

Americans mean one thing, when they think of terrorism. Americans from the South, in Peru, Colombia, Nicaragua, Uruguay, Brazil, Cuba, El Salvador, Chile, etc., think of something else. People from Indonesia, South Africa, Angola, Egypt, the Occupied Territories of Palestine, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the like, think of something else.

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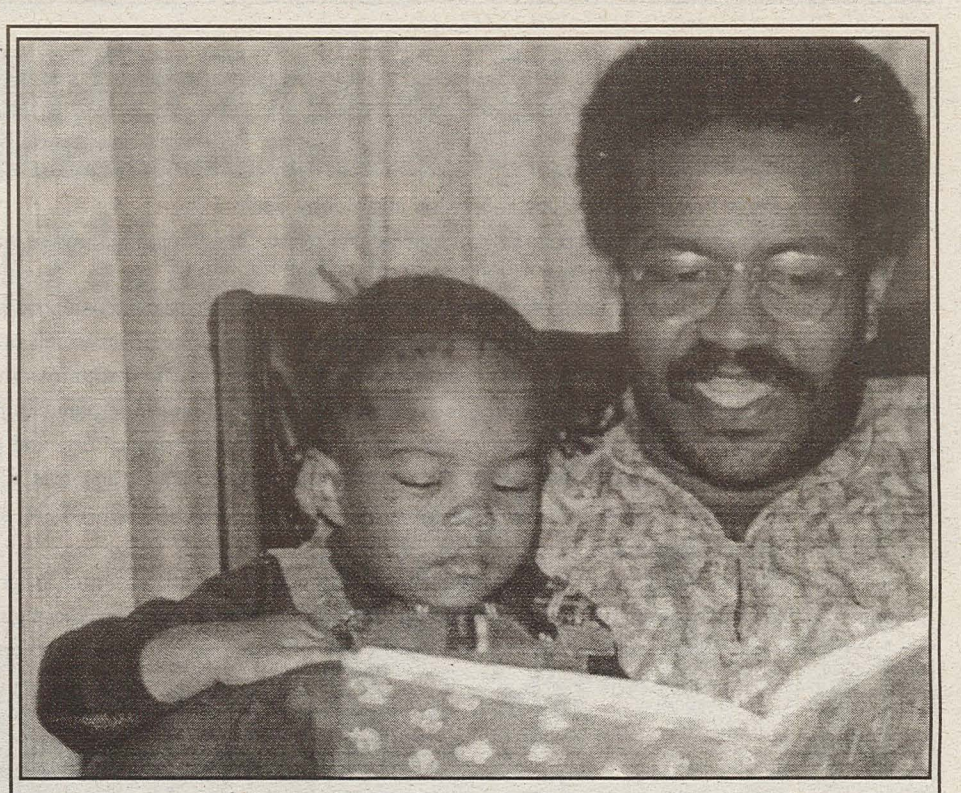

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- Integrity in government. Campaign finance reform!

BIOGRAPHY

EDUCATION & TEACHING:

B.A. Stanford University (1968) Psychology and Mathematics.

University of California at Berkeley, graduate school in Educational Psychology and Child Development, 1971-1973.

Peace Corps, 1968-1970 in Sierra Leone, where he taught mathematics.

Mathematics teacher at Oakland Unified School District.

Campaign advertising and management, Weiner and Company.

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Administrative Assistant to Alameda County Supervisor John George. Wilson Riles worked with George fighting for a decent health care system, alternatives to incarceration, against apartheid in South Africa, for bi-lingual education in schools, and housing and services for the homeless.

In 1979 Wilson Riles ran and was elected to the 5th District seat on the Oakland City Council.

Wilson Riles engineered the City's commitment of $1.3 million from the Redevelopment Agency for the Schools' Academic programs. He was instrumental in the defeat of the INS establishment of a privately run detention facility in Oakland. Riles was the principal Council member responsible for both Oakland's Anti-apartheid Ordinance and Oakland's Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance. He was the strongest Council member supporting the development of downtown and neighborhood non-profit housing projects.

Wison is currently Regional Director of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), involved in administering a $1.4 million budget supporting programs which address a range of issues, including non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the plight of farm workers, homelessness, the criminal justice system, the Native American community, the Asian Pacific community, youth, and the problem of economic justice in the African-American community in West Oakland.

He is a founding member of the Community Bank of the Bay. He is a regular course lecturer of "The History of Race" at New College. He is active in many other civic and community activities including the San Francisco Zen Center, the Northern California Coalition for Immigrant Rights, the Foundation Alliance with Interfaith to Heal Society, and FONKOZE (a Haitian micro-loan program).

FAMILY: Wilson is the son of Wilson Riles Sr. who served as State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1970-1982. (Wilson Riles Sr. was the first African-American elected to a statewide office in California). Wilson is the partner of Patricia St. Onge. He is the father of two daughters and the stepfather of four.

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